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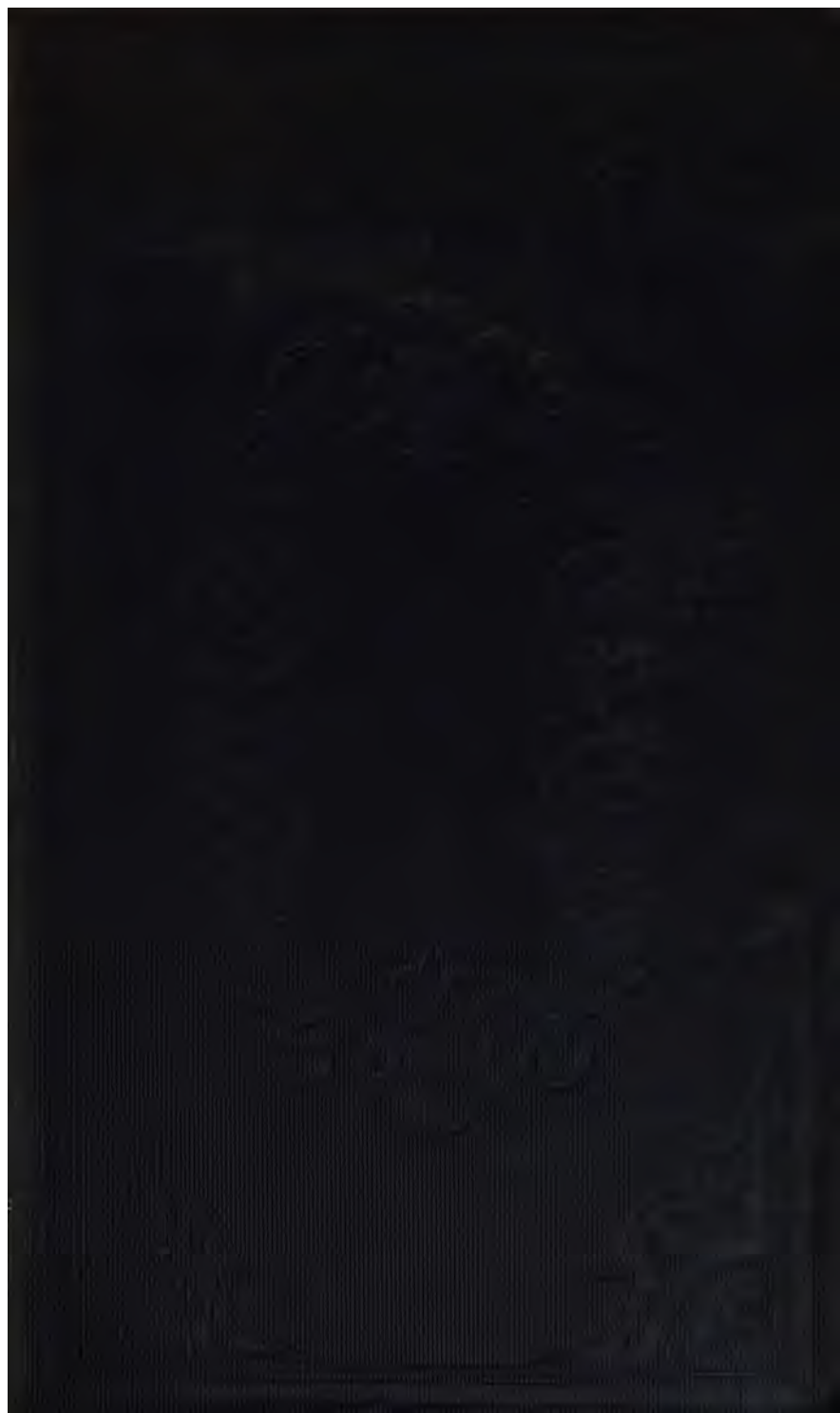
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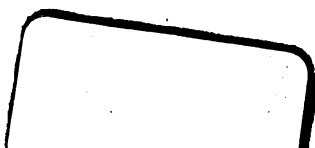
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POPULAR
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

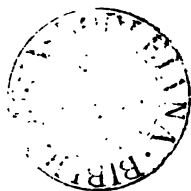
POPULAR
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

THE REV. R. STEWART, M.A.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE," ETC.



LONDON :
PUBLISHED BY PARTRIDGE & OAKEY.

1851.

226. c. 69.

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INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the many events which have been and are still transacting around us, it may be doubted whether any of them has more forcible claims upon our attention than those which connect themselves with the past and present state of Ireland. It may be supposed that her present state should have the most immediate reference to our feelings; but before we can satisfactorily investigate the causes of that unfortunate condition in which she now is, we must carry our inquiries into preceding ages, and diligently trace the long series of circumstances which has been operating for many centuries upon the destinies of her people. The grievances of which Ireland complains are not of modern origin, but have existed since the days of darkness and bigotry, of ignorance and despotism; and they have been increased by successive sacrifices of justice and humanity, to the temporising politics of a party, or the selfish policy of a minister. She has made many efforts to acquire her freedom; indeed that has been her constant struggle; but every contest has only rivetted her chains the closer. Still she has not borne her lot with the uncomplaining meekness of a broken spirit; on the contrary, proud and fierce in the consciousness of her rights, she has bravely fought and freely shed her blood, through every period of her history, with a hopelessness of despair which has made every conflict more terrible to herself and her enemies.

As it is naturally to be expected, the progress of civilization during the early ages was greatly retarded in Ireland. When England and Scotland were distinguished for their military greatness, and by their exertions in literature and the arts, Ireland was still in a state of moral and political bondage. Treated as she had been, with all

the harshness of a conquered country, her interests were neglected, and she remained in that state of degradation which destroyed within her sons all desire of greatness, and left them only that love of liberty and independence which has distinguished them through so many ages. The celebrated Spenser visited Ireland in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and on his return he published "A View of the State of Ireland;" which is deserving of consideration as an authentic record of the country and its inhabitants at that period. We will here insert his description of a race of men called Horse-boys. "And now, next after the Irish Kern, methinks the Irish Horse-boys would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity [as times now be] do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realm, they should be cut off. For the cause why they are to be permitted, is want of convenient inns for lodging of travellers on horseback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the frie of these rake-hill Horse-boys, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their Kern continually supplied and maintained. For having once been brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foul oversight) are, for the most part, bred up amongst the Englishmen; of whom learning to shoot in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards, when they become Kern, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more lewd and dishonest, and that is of their *Carrows*, which is a kind of people that wander up and down to gentlemen's houses, living only upon cards and dice; the which though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much money; which if they win they waste most lightly; and if they lose they pay as slenderly, but make recompense with one stealth or another; whose only hurt is not that they themselves are idle Lossels, but that through gaming they draw others to like lewdness and idleness. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellows, which do pass up and down amongst gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are, indeed, notable rogues and partakers, not only of many stealths, by setting

forth other men's goods to be stolen, but also privy to many traitorous practices, and common carriers of news; with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed, for they send commonly up and down to know news; and if any meet with another, his second word is, What news? insomuch that hereof is told a pretty jest of a Frenchman, who having been sometimes in Ireland where he marked their great enquiry for news, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman whom he knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily, O Sir, I pray you tell me of courtesie, have you heard any thing of the news you so much enquired for in your own country?"

From this extract it is sufficiently evident that Ireland was at that period far behind England and Scotland in civilization, though nearly four centuries had elapsed since the invasion under Henry II.; and shows how little her interests had been attended to. We need not be surprised therefore at the small number of native historians. It has happened from these circumstances, and from her subjugation by England, that a great portion of her history is involved in darkness; but perhaps, we need not regret this, for we should probably find on the removal of this obscurity, that the principal transactions of her early ages were the fierce wars of uncivilised but brave chieftains, fighting only for plunder or revenge, and destroying rather than supporting those principles which have been beneficial to themselves and their country. But there is one remarkable fact in the history of this country, that is, while her people still retained all the savage ferocity of their manners, Ireland nurtured in her monasteries, so early as the fifth century, men of such distinguished piety and learning that she became celebrated throughout Europe. This bright day of eminence, however, soon closed in a long and murky night, from which she has only progressively risen during the last century, and into which we think there is no danger of her ever again relapsing.

The history of Ireland previous to the eighteenth century shall, for very obvious reasons, be very briefly detailed; while those events which have occurred since that period shall be related with a minuteness equal to their importance. It is during that period that Ireland has gained for herself her present conspicuous situation in literature,

in science, and in arms; and that she has nobly struggled through the chains that bound her. At the end of the seventeenth century, Ireland exhibited the appearance of a newly conquered country. The great majority of the people was catholics, and the Roman catholics were then denied participation in all civil rights; what toleration they enjoyed, was not by the authority and sanction of the law, but because the penal statutes were not enforced. The view of so different a state of things in the sister kingdoms, rendered it impossible that the natives of Ireland could rest satisfied under such a degrading system; upon contrasting their own miserable condition with that of their conquerors, it could not fail to exasperate their minds; this led to the public expression of their feelings, and they from time to time obtained the refusal of some, and the mitigation of others, of the obnoxious laws that were in force against them. Still, however, their complete emancipation remains unaccomplished, and numbers are still actively employed to obtain the object of their wishes. But we must not anticipate these important transactions, but refer the readers attention to the following pages for a full detail.

POPULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical view of Ireland. When first discovered. Ancient name. Its size and situation. Original population. Division into counties. First interference of the English. Irish intrigues the cause of that interference. Arrival of the king of England. English form of government introduced. Acts passed with regard to the Irish. Commencement of English tyranny. King John visits Ireland. Delegates the government to the bishop of Norwich. Edward I.

BEFORE treating of the general history of Ireland, from the earliest periods of which tradition has preserved any recollection, it will not be amiss to borrow a little from the province of geography ; as it is natural to inquire into the original name and discovery of a country, with whose historical events we are about to become acquainted ; and we shall therefore briefly state the commonly received opinions upon the subject.

It is probable that Ireland was discovered by the Phœnicians as early as Britain. It is supposed to have been known to the Greeks by the name of Juverna, about two hundred years before the birth of Christ, and to have constituted one of the Cassiterides. Cæsar also gives an account of Ireland, and, in his Commentaries (book v. chap. 10.) describes it as being about half the size of Britain. The Romans discovered, when the country had been peopled with various tribes, that the ruling people in Ireland were the Scoti, from whom the country was called Scotia, which name was retained by the monastic writers, according to Pinkerton, only till the eleventh century. Archbishop

Usher, however, who is allowed to be a better authority, says, "That it was not till after the coalition between the Scots and the Picts in the eleventh century, that both nations, namely Ireland and Scotland, came promiscuously to be called Scotland." In fact, Ireland retained the name of Scotia until the fifteenth century, and was so called by foreign writers; but shortly the appellation of Scotia was appropriated exclusively to modern Scotland, and the ancient name of Hibernia, as applied to Ireland by Orosius in the eleventh century, began to reassume its honours. This name, and the Gothic denomination Ireland, derive their origin from the native term Erin, which signifies the country of the west.

The greatest length of Ireland is, from the Stags of Cork harbour to Bloody Farland Point, in the county of Donegal, about 235 miles; and its greatest breadth, from the western point of Mayo to the mouth of Strangford Lough, is 182 miles; but on account of the deep indentations on the western coast, the breadth is very unequal, and there is not a spot in the island much above 60 miles from the sea.

It is probable that Ireland was originally peopled from Gaul, and afterwards increased by the emigration of the Goidals from England. It is certain, however, that Ireland was so much crowded with Celtic tribes, who were expelled from Britain by the progress of the German Goths, that the Belgae almost lost their native speech and distinct character.

We will here enumerate the modern division of Ireland into provinces and counties, which was not completely effected until the reign of Charles I. the result of which was published in 1685, and has been the ground-work of all subsequent maps.

The province of *Ulster* contains the counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan. *Connaught* contains Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway. *Leinster* contains Louth, Meath, Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare, Queen's county, King's county, Westmeath, Longford: and *Munster* contains Clare, Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary.

We may here remark, that in passing from the modern state of Ireland and its divisions, to a rapid sketch of its

previous history, the greatest diversity of opinion prevails; while its traditions, and even its ancient records, are regarded by English writers with a degree of incredulity, the native historian endeavours to raise both them and the manners of the ancient Irish to an eminence above all other countries. Their ignorance of the Irish language may account for the incredulity of foreign authors, who could not understand the authors in their native tongue; but it would be impossible for the most profound knowledge of the Irish language to make us believe in events so evidently fabulous as those which mark the early ages of Irish history.

The Irish claim a descent from a race of Milesian Kings who, it would appear, reigned over them for thirteen centuries before the birth of Christ. The stock from which these sovereigns emanated is traced to a Milesian colony, which is supposed to have emigrated from Spain into Ireland; but the most judicious reasoners consider this as nothing more than the invention of their bards. Mr. Plowden gives an abstract of this contested part of Irish history in the following words:

“About 140 years after the deluge Ireland was discovered by one Adhva, who had been sent from Asia to explore new countries, by a grandson of Belus: he plucked some of the luxuriant grass as a specimen of the fertility of the soil, and returned to his master. After that the island remained unoccupied for 140 years; and about 300 years after the flood, one Partholan, originally a Scythian, and a descendant from Japhet in the sixth generation, sailed from Greece with his family and a thousand soldiers, and took possession of the island. They all died off, and left the island destitute of human beings for the space of thirty years. Afterwards different sets of emigrant adventurers occupied and peopled the island at different periods. About 1080 years after the deluge, and 1300 years before Christ, Niul, (the son of Phineus, a wise Scythian prince,) who had married a daughter of Pharaoh, inhabited, with his people, a district given to him by his father-in-law on the Red Sea when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. The descendants of that Phineus (more generally called Fenius Farsa) were afterwards expelled by Pharaoh's successors on account of their ancestors having favoured the escape of

the Israelites through the Red Sea. They then emigrated and settled in Spain, whence, under the command of Milesius, a colony of them sailed from Brigantia in Galicia to Ireland, gained the ascendancy over the inhabitants, and gave laws and a race of monarchs to the island. The Milesian dynasty continued to govern Ireland, without interruption, till about the year 1168, when it ceased in the person of Roger O'Conner, and the sovereignty was assumed by our Henry II. Of this race of kings the first 110 were Pagan, the rest Christian. St. Patrick was sent from Rome about the year 431, to preach the Christian religion to the Irish in the reign of Loagaire, the first Christian monarch, who received baptism from the hands of St. Patrick."

Such are the opinions of Mr. Plowden, and he is so far entitled to attention. But we may be allowed to coincide with Dr. Johnson, who maintains that all the colouring of history is false, which we are the more inclined to do from the uncertainty of human testimony so often presented to us. Even while we have the benefit of intelligence through the press, we very rarely find two accounts of the same event to agree; it can therefore be no matter of surprise if we find the transactions of early ages, delivered traditionally from one generation to another, to vary greatly in the different accounts. This subject is happily illustrated by an anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh. While that celebrated individual was confined in the tower of London, he devoted a great portion of his time to the compilation of his "History of the World." Upon one occasion, when he was deeply engaged in endeavouring to reconcile the contradictory accounts of different historians respecting some transaction that had occurred in the early ages, he was roused from his studies by a disturbance in the court-yard of the prison, immediately beneath the window of his room. He was not able to see what was the cause of the fray, but he enquired of the first person who entered his cell, and as this person had witnessed the whole, he received a particular account. Shortly after, another individual, who had also been present during the disturbance, dropped in, but his account of the transaction varied greatly from the preceding. A few minutes after a third person entered the apartment, who had likewise been a spectator of the fray,

and his version differed no less from the other two than they had differed from each other. Sir Walter was no sooner left alone than he exclaimed, "Good God! how is it possible I can pretend to arrive at certainty respecting events which happened 3000 years ago, when I cannot obtain a correct account of what happened under my own window not three hours ago?" He immediately threw his manuscript into the fire.

As our limits will not permit us to enter upon what may certainly be considered as the fabulous eras of Irish history, as well as all inquiry into the annals of the Milesian monarchs, we will here state the circumstances under which England first assumed any right over Ireland, and while we do so, we think the reader will consider it as no punishment; not that we would insinuate the want of respect for those authors who have made antiquarian research their study, but that the inquiries are not such as are necessary for a work such as this. We will therefore commence with the invasion of Ireland by Henry II. which we may consider the principal epoch of that country; as during a period of nearly 300 years, that is from the death of Turgesius in 868, to the landing of the English in 1169, there is nothing to be found in Irish history but a series of civil wars and commotions.

In the year 1162, however, we find Dermot Mac Moragh king of the province of Leinster, whose ferocious conduct soon drew upon him the enmity of all men, but especially that of Roderick O'Conner, the last king of Ireland. Somewhere about 1155, Tieghernan O'Rourke, king of Brieine, happened to marry a lady who by no means returned his love; but as this lady's passions did not tend towards a platonic intercourse, she hesitated not to satisfy her appetites at the expense of her conjugal fidelity. The name of this lady was Dearbhforguill, daughter of Mortough Mac Floinn, king of Meath, and the object upon whom she fixed to satisfy her desires was Dermot Mac Moragh. Unlike our modern ladies who may chance to get tired of their husbands, this queen Dearbhforguill sent a messenger with a very modest request that he would come and carry her off from Tieghernan O'Rourke, whose embraces she confessedly detested; but this lady not only sent the request, but with that cautious spirit of intrigue which a

woman possesses in a superior degree, she pointed out a favourable opportunity for the execution of her licentious scheme—her husband's pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory; and as a zealous catholic she thought it not only her duty to keep him at St. Patrick's as long as she could, but at the same time cool his religious ardour by having ready for him another purgatory on his return home.

The message sent by this queen of the unpronounceable name to Dermot was received with joy, and he lost no time in putting the good lady's plan into execution. He waited for the good king of Briefne setting out on his pious pilgrimage, and then repaired to the place appointed by his amouress mistress, where he found her prepared for his reception. She flung herself into his arms, and was placed on horseback, and speedily conveyed into Leinster. But we must allow that this lady assumed a virtue she had not, and at the time she threw herself into the arms of Dermot, she lustily called out for that help she did not want, and made a noise about the situation she gloried to find herself in. Girealdus Cambrensis, a historian of the times, honestly says that she was ravished because she would be ravished. But we will perceive that this infamous woman was the origin of the subjugation of Ireland.

Her husband, was, as we have hinted, at the time of this elopement, upon a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory; but upon his return, and finding his spouse had set out upon a pilgrimage of a different kind, he meditated revenge; and applied to Roderick, king of Ireland, for assistance; and at the same time endeavoured to rouse the spirit of his neighbours to espouse his cause, and aid him in punishing the destroyer of his peace and honour, and from our knowledge of Irishmen we are persuaded the appeal would not be in vain. Roderick was ready to befriend the king of Briefne against Mac Moragh, for, throwing out of the question this adulterous outrage, his general oppression and tyrannical conduct had rendered him obnoxious not only to his sovereign, but even to his retainers, who to a man deserted him in the hour of trial, taking that opportunity to revenge the wrongs they had suffered under his tyrannic sway.

Roderick and Tieghernan were successful, and Mac Moragh was compelled to seek refuge in England, where,

throwing himself at the feet of Henry II. he implored his assistance, and promised in return, fealty and allegiance to the English crown, Henry was not indisposed to take advantage of this, as it is well known by all historians that he had been long watching for an opportunity to obtain a footing in Ireland; and while he pretended to assist Mac Moragh, he only rendered his assistance subservient to his own views of conquest. The English monarch was at the time inclined to resent the conduct of the Irish, on account of the many depredations they had committed in Wales, in connection with the Danes; but unfortunately for him he was engaged in a war with France, which prevented him from entering into a treaty with Dermot; but to show his good will to the cause he published a proclamation, viz. "Henry, king of England, &c. unto all his subjects, sendeth greeting; whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye that we have received Dermot, king of of Leinster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trustie subject, for the recoverie of his land, let him be assured of our favour and licence in that behalfe."

A credential of this kind was what was wanted by Mac Moragh, and he no sooner received it than he hastened to Bristol, expecting there to obtain some information from his native country, knowing that a regular communication subsisted between that city and Ireland. After causing the edict of the king to be read, he offered a liberal reward, both in money and lands, to such as would assist him in the recovery of his rights. Few could be found to accept his liberal proposals, as Ireland was at time regarded as a barbarous country; but the ambition of Richard, the son of Gilbert de Claire, earl of Strigul and Chepstow, was attracted by the liberal promises held out, and he went to Dermot, promising to go over to Ireland, provided that Dermot should give him his only daughter, Eva, in marriage, and settle upon him the undisputed succession of all his inheritance in Ireland. Dermot being anxious once more to see his native land, agreed to these propositions; and he repaired to St. David's, of which Cambrensis was bishop, who informs us that the king of Leinster "languishing and lying for a passage, he comforted himself as well he might; sometimes drawing, and as it were breath-

ing the air of his country, which he seemed to breathe and smell; sometimes viewing and beholding his country, which in a fair day a man may ken and descry."

Dermot in the meantime, while his allies in England were making their preparations, went over to Ireland in disguise, and secretly occupied the winter in the monastery of Ferns, concerting his plans for the reception of his English coadjutors, and was successful in winning over many friends. When Robert Fitzstephen landed, in the spring of 1170, near Wexford, he began to form plans upon the Irish monarchy, confident of success from the aid of his English allies; but his hopes and his ambition were defeated by death. Several of the Irish historians affirm that he died by a dreadful visitation of God as a punishment for his many crimes, his body suddenly becoming covered with fetid sores.

His death, however, did not interrupt the invasion of the English, who, under Richard, surnamed Strongbow, continued so successful as to excite the jealousy of the king of England. Henry ordered all intercourse with Ireland to be put a stop to, and likewise commanded all his subjects in that country to return home on pain of forfeiting their property, and of perpetual banishment. Strongbow, however, who had already married the daughter of Dermot, in order to avert the ruin that threatened him, as well as to forward his ambitious designs, dispatched the following letter to his sovereign, by Raymond le Gross:—"Most puissant Prince, and my dread Sovereign, I came into the land with your majesty's leave and favour, (as far as I remember,) to aid your servant Mac Moragh: what I won was with the sword; what was given me I give you; I am yours, life and living." To this epistle the king deigned no reply; but as the time allowed by the proclamation had elapsed, Strongbow and his adherents were proscribed in Britain. As they had rendered themselves detested in Ireland, by their avarice and cruelty, their situation was from being secure now become perilous; but Strongbow became desperate, and succeeded as men under such circumstances frequently do, by a steady perseverance in his course. Roderick, the king of Ireland, again appeared with his army before Dublin, and was defeated by Strongbow, who knew that he was fighting for life and liberty, and by

this victory he was enabled to effect a settlement in that country. The king of England now finding him powerful enough to offer resistance, concealed his rage, and the better to forward his designs, assumed an appearance of reconciliation and confidence.

Ireland now became divided into factions, while Roderick was irresolute, and did nothing to retrieve his affairs. Torn by intestine discords, a nation is the easy prey of its enemies. Henry determined to avail himself of these dissensions in furthering his own views, which were pointed towards the complete subjugation of unfortunate Ireland; and in 1172 he made great preparations for invading it. He sent for Strongbow, received him graciously, repealed his proscription, and appointed him to the office of his steward in Ireland. They engaged in a treaty by which Henry was to be put in possession of Dublin, Waterford, and all the maritime places which Strongbow was in possession of; while he was to be secured in the peaceable tenure of the rest of his territories. There is every reason to believe that this meditated invasion was encouraged by several of the native princes; at all events nothing was done by Roderick to counteract it.

Henry accordingly sailed from Milford Haven in the autumn of 1172, with some hundred ships, and 400 knights and 4,000 men at arms, and on the 18th of October, entered the harbour of Waterford. When he landed, Strongbow, on his knees, presented him with the keys of Waterford, and did homage to him for his kingdom of Leinster. Henry was next day presented with the keys of the city of Cork, by Dermot Mac Carthy, who rendered homage to him as king of Ireland. These successes rendered the English monarch confident, and he only reposed a few days, when he proceeded to Lismore, and from thence marched to Cashel, where the prince of Thomond, Donold O'Bryen, presented to him the keys of his capital of Limerick, and acknowledged him as his sovereign. In like manner various other princes became tributary to him; and Henry having appointed Robert Fitzbarnard governor of Waterford, he marched towards Dublin through Ossory; but the proud king of Connaught, Roderick O'Connor, refused to cross the Shannon to greet the English monarch; but two of Henry's followers were despatched to adminis-

ter the oath of allegiance to him. Thus, according to Cambrensis, "there was no one within that land, who was of any name or countenance, but that he did present himself before the king's majesty, and yielded unto him subjection and due obedience."

Order having been in some measure established, Henry ordered a synod to be held at Cashel, which was numerous attended. According to Plowden, "Besides the legate there appeared the archbishops of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, with their suffrages; many mitred abbots, and several of the inferior clergy. There for the first time he produced the bull of Adrian IV. though he must have had it by him about seventeen years, and its confirmation by his successor, Alexander III. Henry very successfully worked upon this synod, by pressing on the clergy the powerful sway which the Roman pontiff at that time possessed over the politics of all Christian princes. And it is evident, that through their influence the whole nation was induced to submit to Henry with a facility which no other means would have secured to the invader.

How much this interference of the see of Rome restrained the Irish, not only upon this, but upon other occasions, may be inferred from the following remarkable words in a memorial from O'Neal, king of Ulster, presented in 1330, to John, the twenty-second bishop of Rome, in the name of the Irish nation. "During the course of so many ages (3,000 years) our sovereigns preserved the independency of their country; attacked more than once by foreign powers, they wanted neither force nor courage to repel the bold invaders; but that which they dared to do against force they could not do against the simple decree of one of your predecessors, Adrian," &c. &c.

The acts of this council are only recorded by Cambrensis, who tells us, that after accepting of the bull, they proceeded to the reformati^ons so much wanted, which were to make the Irish Christians in effect as well as in name, and which were to bring back their church from disorder and anarchy to regular discipline. This reform is reduced to eight articles: the 1st enjoins that the people should not marry with their close kindred. 2nd, That children should be catechised outside of the church door, and infants baptised at the font. 3rd, That the laity should pay tithes.

4th, That the property of the church should be free from temporal exactions. 5th, That the clergy should be exempt from eric, or retribution, on account of murder or other crimes committed by their relations. 6th, Directs the manner of disposing, by will, of the effects of a dying man. 7th, Enjoins burial to the dead. And the 8th, That divine service should in future be performed in Ireland, in every particular according to the English church : ' for it is meet and just,' says Cambrensis, ' that as Ireland hath by Providence received a lord and king from England, so she may receive from the same a better form of living. For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefit of peace, or the increase of religion ; since before his coming into Ireland, evils of various kinds had from old times gradually overspread the land, which by his power and goodness are now abolished.'" Such were the specious and imposing articles with which the English monarch endeavoured to gain the clergy, and through their influence to induce the nation to agree to his becoming sovereign of Ireland. Each of these articles were, it is certain, at this period more strictly attended to in Ireland than in England.

A council was also held at Lismore, in 1172, where, according to Matthew Paris, the English system of legislation was established ; but as Cambrensis makes no mention of such a meeting, it is more likely that Paris has confounded it with the synod at Cashel, over which the bishop of Lismore presided. The Irish historians indignantly deny that the English laws were established in Ireland at this period, while the fact is as confidently affirmed by the British. The Irish maintain that the laws of England were neither received nor practised out of the English pale till the reign of James I., which assertion is confirmed by Finglass, who, as late as the days of Henry VIII. says "that the English statutes passed in Ireland are not observed till eight days after passing, whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their bills, they keep firm and stable, without breaking through them for any favour or reward." If the king of England had sufficient power to enforce obedience to his laws in Ireland, we may presume that he likewise possessed the means of subjugat-

ing the whole country; but he possessed no such power; for though several of the Irish princes publicly submitted to him, and gave him authority over a great part of the country, yet he did not, by any hostile attempt, endeavour to extend his sovereignty over the other princes. Henry, however, remained six months in Ireland, and passed his Christmas at Dublin: but in that now stately city, no house could be found large enough for the accommodation of his retinue, and one of twigs and wattles had to be constructed for that purpose.

The English form of government was, however, introduced by Henry among his own followers; but it was entirely confined within what was called the *pale*, which did not comprehend the twentieth part of the country. The English power in Ireland at that period was certainly of a very ambiguous nature, and during the whole stay of Henry we find nothing remarkable except his being acknowledged king of Leath Mogha. In 1175, however, a formal peace was concluded between the ministers of Roderick on the one side, and those of Henry on the other, but the terms of this peace by no means lead us to conclude that it rested upon the basis of admitted conquest, or any introduction of new laws, or of a new constitution by the conqueror.

Plowden, in his Historical Review, says, "By the first article, Roderick, on agreeing to do homage to Henry, (which if he did, it must have been by proxy,) and to pay him a certain tribute, was to possess his kingdom of Connaught in as full and ample a manner as before Henry's entering that kingdom. By the second article, Henry engages to support and defend the king of Connaught in his territories, with all his force and power in Ireland, provided he should pay to Henry every tenth merchantable hide throughout his kingdom. The third excepts from this condition the possessions of Henry and his barons, such as Dublin with its liberties, and Meath with its domains, which were to be holden by them in as full a manner as they had been held by O'Mealsachlin, or those deriving under him; Wexford, with all Leinster; Waterford, with all its domains, as far as Dungarvon, which, with its territory, was also to be excluded from this taxation. The fourth permits such Irish as had fled from the

lands holden by the English barons, to return in peace, on paying the above tribute, or such other services as they were anciently accustomed to perform by their tenures, at the option of their lords. If they should prove refractory, on complaint of such lords, Roderick was to compel them; and they were to supply Henry with hawks and hounds annually."

Nothing of importance was undertaken by the English in Ireland during the remainder of Henry's reign. He summoned Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, in 1175, where he intimated to him his intention of entrusting to his direction the affairs of Ireland; a trust which he readily undertook, in conjunction with Raymond le Gross, but he did not long enjoy the dignity, for he died in the following year, when he was succeeded by his friend Raymond. John, earl of Morton, son of Henry, was nominated king or lord of Ireland, in 1176; but as John had not attained his fourteenth year, this nomination may be considered as a cession of the king's proprietorship in his Irish territories, rather than a deputation of the government to his son's hands; but when the young prince reached the age of twenty-one, in 1184, he was sent over to Ireland, but the despotic conduct of his courtiers towards the Irish was such as to cause apprehensions of an insurrection, and John was recalled. The government of the king's affairs in Ireland was then entrusted to John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, who retained his office till the death of Henry, in 1189. Richard Cœur de Lion succeeded Henry on the English throne; but this prince, whose name is still cherished with a sort of romantic fondness, for his chivalrous spirit, and the valorous achievements which he performed during the Crusades against the Infidels in the Holy Land, where warlike renown could alone be obtained in the estimation of the age in which he lived; we may therefore presume, that during his short reign of nine years and nine months, he was otherwise engaged than attending to his domestic policy, and consequently nothing was done materially to affect the condition of Ireland. All the acts connected with that country emanated from the king's brother, John, in consequence of the grant made to him by the late king. He appointed governors to those territories which belonged to England, and directed all other proceed-

ings. He granted lands, franchises, and liberties, to be holden of him and his heirs, as if he himself held absolute dominion; still he did not pretend to exercise any authority beyond the English pale; a limit to his authority, not only acknowledged by himself but by foreigners; for when the pope sent his legate through all the dominions of Richard, for the purpose of raising contributions for that monarch's use in the Holy Land, his jurisdiction was expressly limited to England and Wales, and "those parts of Ireland in which John, earl of Morton, had power and dominion." John himself, as we find in his charters, restricted his power within the same limits, for in his charter of franchise to the city of Dublin, he grants privileges, not throughout all Ireland, but expressly throughout his own dominions in that country.

During Richard's reign, however, some internal calamities occurred, among others we may mention the destruction of the city of Dublin by fire, and the prevalence of a band of robbers, by which the peace and tranquility of the *pale* were greatly disturbed. Dr. Hanmer ascribes the band of robbers to the followers of the famous Robin Hood, some of whom fled to Ireland, as to a country where they might carry on their nefarious practices without control; but their predatory course of life became so oppressive, that they were forced by the natives to abandon the island. Roderick O'Connor, the last of the Irish monarchs, died, during the reign of Richard, in 1198. He had lived to an advanced age through a period of great violence and confusion; his latter years being passed in quiet in the monastery of Cong, unmoved by the factions that tore his distracted country; but he detested the English to the last, as his bitterest and most unprovoked enemies.

Richard died in 1199, and was succeeded by his brother John, whose reign is equally the disgrace and the glory of the English annals, for while his cowardly conduct was a blot upon the age, the noble struggle of his bold barons who extorted from him the foundation of all our liberties, *Magna Charta*, adorned it. One of his first acts upon his accession, was to remove Hamo de Valois, with disgrace, from the government of Ireland, who had amassed an immense fortune by defrauding both the clergy and laity. Some of this treasure, John either through avarice or jus-

tice, most probably the former, transferred into the English exchequer, by fining him in a sum equal to £15,000 of our present money.

Meilar Fitz-Henry was appointed successer to de Valois. He was the natural son of Henry I. and one of the most distinguished of the original adventurers into Ireland. Cambrensis, a contemporary historian, thus describes him. —“Meilar was a man of a brown hue and complexion, his eyes black, his looks grim, and his countenance sour and sharp, and of a mean stature; his body for the bigness very strong and broad breasted, and he was small bellied. His arms and other limbs more sinewous than fleshy, a stout and valiant gentleman he was, and emulous. He never refused any adventure or enterprise which were either to be done by one alone or by more; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all services, he would either have the garland, or die in the place; and so impatient was he in all exploits, that he would either have his purpose, or lie in the dust; and so ambitious and desirous he was to have honour, and to attain thereunto, there was no means nor mild thing but that he would surely have the same either in death, or in life; for if he could not have it and live, he would surely have it by dying. And verily both he and Raymond have been worthy of too much praise and commendation, if they had been less ambitious of worldly honours, and more careful of Christ's church, and devout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might have been preserved and kept safe and sound; and also in consideration of their so many conquests and bloody victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and of murthering so many christian people, they had been thankful to God, and liberally contributed some good portion for the furtherance of his church and religion. But what shall I say? It is not so strange, but much more to be lamented, that this unthankfulness, even from our first coming into this land, until these presents, this hath been the general and common fault of all our men.”

But the appointment of Meilar was attended with little success. John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy, two of the most powerful and turbulent settlers in Ireland, fomented such violent commotions as the new governor found himself

totally incapable of subduing. De Courcy openly impeached the title of John to the throne of England, and refused to acknowledge his allegiance; and both he and De Lacy had united their forces to assist Cathal, son of the late king Roderick. This revolt highly incensed John, who summoned De Courcy to appear before him and do him homage; but the summons was treated with contempt. Hugh de Lacy, along with his brother Walter, having, in the meantime, regained the royal favour, they were employed by the king to seize and send their former friend and ally prisoner to his majesty. This commission De Lacy readily undertook to execute, but was compelled to resort to treachery; for having refused to meet De Courcy in single combat, he offered a large reward to any person who would deliver him into his hands dead or alive; he likewise bribed some of his personal attendants, who attacked De Courcy while performing his devotions, and killed some of his retainers. But De Courcy killed no fewer than thirteen of his assailants before he could be subdued, and surrendered into the hands of De Lacy; who, with strict consistency of conduct, rewarded his agents with the promised money, and then with the gibbet, for he ordered every one of them to be hung. De Courcy was sent to England, where he was confined in the Tower, and might have remained there long enough had not a champion of Philip, king of France, appeared at the English court, offering to assert his master's right to Normandy in single combat. De Courcy was considered by John as a proper person to meet this challenge; but it was with great reluctance that he at last gave his consent. The lists were accordingly erected, and on the two champions appearing, the Frenchman was so terrified at De Courcy's great size and stern aspect that he declined the combat and basely retired. Having won this bloodless victory the king gave him his liberty, restored him to his possessions, and in compliance with a singular request, granted to De Courcy and his heirs the privilege of standing covered in their first audience with the kings of England.

John visited Ireland in the month of June, 1210, and soon after his landing several princes waited upon him to do him homage. In his retinue were several men of learning, by whose assistance a regular code of laws was

drawn up and deposited in the exchequer of Dublin, for the benefit of the land. That the execution of these laws might be effectually secured, John caused a new division of the king's lands into counties, over which sheriffs and other officers were appointed. The twelve counties which were then established, viz. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial, (now called Louth,) Katerlagh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, mark the extent of the English pale in the time of king John, as confined to a part of Leinster and Munster, and to those parts of Meath and Argial which lie in the province of Ulster. From this division it is also evident that the chiefs in the remote districts of Ulster refused acknowledging the sovereignty of the English king.

John resided only three months in Ireland, but attempted nothing worthy of attention beyond what we have mentioned; and on his departure appointed John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, governor, who held the situation for three years. In 1213 he was succeeded by Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin; but the government was executed chiefly by deputy, as the archbishop was generally in attendance on his royal master in England. The few remaining years of this monarch's worthless reign presents no new features with respect to Ireland, though it furnishes one of the most eminent in the annals of English history. John died at Newark in 1216, and was succeeded by his son Henry, the third of that name, who was only ten years of age. The earl of Pembroke was appointed regent during the minority of the young king; and the Irish nobles, stimulated by a similar spirit of independence to what had impelled the English barons to extort from their late king the great bulwark of British freedom, sent a list of grievances to Pembroke, beseeching him to grant his protection for the better security of their immunities. Pembroke, who had formerly lived in Ireland, returned the best answer—a duplicate of Magna Charta, in which their rights and privileges were placed upon the same foundation with those of the English. Ireland was, by that charter, placed upon an equal footing with respect to its civil and political institutions, as the sister country, and 1217, the earl of Pembroke obtained for them a ratification of the charter, which commences as follows:—"The king to the arch-

bishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, and to all his faithful subjects in Ireland. In proof of our approbation of your fidelity to our father, which he has experienced, and which we are likely to experience, we will, in consequence of your distinguished fidelity, that you and your heirs enjoy for ever, out of our favour, and a gift to your kingdom, the liberties granted you by our father and ourselves."

The English regent possessed large landed estates in Ireland, consequently he had a natural interest in its tranquillity, and therefore we find that during his regency the country was comparatively quiet; but unfortunately he died in the year 1219, when several incursions into his estates in Meath were made by Hugh de Lacy and O'Nial of Tyr Owen, which caused the young earl of Pembroke to hasten over to Ireland to preserve his paternal property, when he commenced hostilities with De Lacy, which occasioned great havoc in Meath and the adjacent districts. From this period we may date the commencement of a violent and seditious era, which, with little diminution, continued during the four ensuing reigns.

Hubert de Burgo, justiciary of England, was appointed deputy in 1219; and as his substitute, he sent his kinsman, Richard de Burgo, during whose administration, an order was transmitted from England, commanding him at a certain day and place to summon "the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and sheriffs, and in their presence to cause to be read publicly the charter of king John, and that in obedience to it they should swear to observe the English laws and customs in Ireland, and that in behalf of the king, he should command the laws and customs contained in the said charter to be firmly observed in the several counties of Ireland, of which public proclamation should be made in each of them respectively, that none might presume to disobey his majesty's command." This was certainly an admission to the English laws and privileges in their fullest extent, of all Irishmen who renounced their ancient system of polity, and agreed to hold their lands by English tenure.

We may now pass over several years of distraction and disorder, of bloodshed and rebellion. The next remarkable passage we find in the history of Ireland is the grant of

that country made by Henry to his son, prince Edward, in 1253. A marriage had been projected between that prince and the infanta of Spain; and his father granted with certain exceptions, the kingdom of Ireland to Edward and his heirs for ever, provided, however, that it should always be connected with, and dependent on, the crown of England. In consequence of this grant the general appointments under government were afterwards made in the name of prince Edward, though his father frequently interfered, lest the ambition of the son, so predominant during his future life, should successfully arrogate to himself a dominion in Ireland independent of all allegiance to the English government. There yet exists an authentic document, which proves, according to Mr. Mollyneux, the antiquity of the Irish parliament, and that, without their consent, neither men nor money could be raised in Ireland, whatever might be the emergency; and as a further evidence of this being the case, we may remark, that while Henry was engaged in a war on the continent, in defence of his French territories, and short of money to carry it on, his queen transmitted to Ireland the following requisition:—"To the archbishops, bishops, &c. intreating from them assistance of men and money against the king of Castile, who had invaded Gascony, the compliance with which would turn to their immortal honour."

Upon the death of Henry III., after a reign of fifty-six years, he was succeeded by his son Edward, the first of that name. Notwithstanding the grant that he had received of Ireland from his father, it does not appear that, during the whole thirty-five years which he reigned, one state act of his, with respect to that country, has been recorded by any historians. We may, however, observe some few occurrences during this period which demand attention. In the year 1272, the people of Ireland, convinced that they had no prospect of expelling the English from their country, were anxious to exchange their state of tributary vassalage for the security and advantage of English subjects; and in order to attain that desirable object, they offered 8,000 marks to the king of England, provided he would grant the full participation of the English laws, without distinction, to all the inhabitants of

Ireland. Edward condescended to return the following answer to this application :—

“Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitain, to our truly and well beloved Robert de Ufford, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting :

“The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping (by the Divine assistance) that the things there begun so happily by you shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

“And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of 8,000 marks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid land, we will you to know, that inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God, and repugnant to all justice, and having held diligent conference and full deliberation with our council on this matter, it seems sufficiently expedient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of the nobles and prelates of that land well affected to us, shall uniformly concur in this behalf.

“We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles, well affected to us in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of money that you can obtain on this account, to be paid to us, you do with the consent of all; or at least of the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided, however, that these people shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them.”

This last proviso of Edward's, for “a body of good and stout footmen,” without a doubt had reference to his intended subjugation of Scotland, which he expected to accomplish in *one turn only*. If such were his expectations,

the exploits of the undaunted Wallace, and the heroic Bruce, inform us how wofully he was disappointed. Still we cannot refrain from remarking how disgraceful it was in the people of Ireland at the time they were themselves feeling all the horrors of a galling slavery, to voluntarily lend their aid in riveting the fetters upon a people determined to be free, and whose love of freedom enabled them successfully to oppose the giant power of the tyrant, combined as it was with the hordes of Welsh and Irish soldiers whom he had forcibly reduced under his commands. The war of liberty sustained by Scotland for so many years, presented a lesson to the Irish people, which, if properly taken advantage of at the time would have now freed the world from the everlasting complaint of Ireland's woes. Irishmen are now convinced of this fact when it is too late to remedy the faults of their forefathers.

The views of Edward were, however, thwarted on this occasion by the rapacity of his own servants, who to forward their own purposes prevented a convention of the barons and other subjects in Ireland; and the king's ear was poisoned, as it has been in latter times by the representations of interested individuals: and so completely were the royal views frustrated, that during his reign several individuals of the Irish race were necessitated to petition for particular charters of freedom on their intermarriages with English females. The Irish finding themselves neglected and refused to be allowed to rank on an equality with their subjugators, and justly indignant at the haughty disregard with which all their assurances of fidelity were treated, resorted to the fatal but inevitable means of redress, which are alone left to those who have no mercy to expect, and who can hope for no justice but what they arrest from their oppressors. They were still unsubdued in their hearts: in their thoughts liberty had still upheld her shrine, and they bowed before it with the generous enthusiasm of their character, and worshipped the goddess with honest sincerity. From that remote period we might trace the origin of those measures which have, century after century, been transferring the cordial allegiance of the Irish people. The English government scorned to soothe a nation it could not entirely subdue; and preferred the questionable obedience paid to the sword and

the law, to that submission which might have been obtained by conciliation. The people of Ireland, however, impatient of such austerity, made their tyrants feel that it is more troublesome to oppress a brave and devoted people than to conquer them by kindness. The speaker of the Irish house of commons (Sir John Davies) in the reign of James I. makes the following just reflections upon the state of the Irish people in his time, and they are entitled to consideration: "As long" says he, "as the Irish were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them, without controulment, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? If the king would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? and in a word if the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor in war root them out by the sword, must they not needs be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, till the world's end."

Such was the state of the Irish people during the reign of James I.. such has been their state nearly ever since, and such was their state at the time of Edward I. The stupidity of the English government under Edward is astonishing. Possessing nothing like the entire authority over Ireland, they divided the whole country among ten English families, who styled themselves lords and owners of the soil. Nothing was left for the natives; and it has been confidently asserted by several Irish annalists, that for more than three centuries after the invasion, not a single grant of land was made to a native of Ireland, except one during the minority of Henry III. to the king of Thomond, and the treaty with the king of Connaught. The English settlers were, in fact, a sort of petty sovereigns; while that portion of the native Irish who resided within the pale were reduced to a state of the most disgraceful vassalage and servitude. Still however, Edward notwithstanding the cruel treatment which they received, endeavoured to draw from his Irish subjects the same contributions as their English brethren, while they were refused all the privileges which such contributions might be expected to procure. In 1295, he tried to avail himself of the pope's assistance, for the purpose of obtaining a grant of the tenth of all the revenues of the Irish clergy. The pretence for this exac-

tion was an expedition to the Holy Land, but in fact it was intended to assist in carrying on the war against Scotland. The clergy of Ireland, however, were less disposed than their English brethren to submit to the pope's interference in temporal affairs, they therefore flatly refused to comply with Edward's demand. With the laity of Ireland he was more successful, as they, with some reluctance however, granted him a fifteenth of their effects.

The most important feature which marks the history of this unfortunate country during the reign of Edward was the assembling in 1295, the first regular parliament which Ireland could be said to possess; and many of the provisions which it enacted were beneficial to the people.

Mr. Plowden, from whom we have already extracted, says "It was enacted that tenants of every degree should provide according to their rank towards a militia, and that absentees should contribute out of their Irish revenues to that establishment. It was also enacted that in particular incursions of the Irish, the neighbouring settlers, who should not attempt to assist the government, or repel the invasion, should for their wilful neglect be liable to pay damages to their suffering neighbours. And in order to prevent the national evil of frequent military expeditions by the great lords, it was also ordained that in future no lord should make war but by licence of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the king. Several other wholesome ordinances of like, though subordinate tendency, were passed by the express order of Edward, who, it appears, really wished to promote the welfare of Ireland, though in so doing he forgot not his own interest, however, he was thwarted in it by the mal-administration of this distant government. In cases of any sudden insurrection of the Irish, when the chief governor was at a distance, it was further enacted, that from the moment hostilities commenced, the country attacked should instantly, and without further orders, rise in arms, and maintain the war at their own charges, without intermission or suspension, till the enemy should be reduced, or consent to cessation, or the chief governor should otherwise direct. And in order to deprive the enemy of their usual shelter, every lord was directed to repair and clear the roads through his woods and forests, to make bridges, pathways, and other provisions

for traversing the country with readiness and security, and pursuing the insurgents into their retreats. And for the purpose of preventing any mistake between Englishmen and Irishmen (for killing the latter there was no punishment!) it was still further enacted, that all Englishmen should conform strictly to the garb and tonsure of their own countrymen, at least in the tonsure of their hair, on pain of seizure of their lands or chattels, and imprisonment of their persons. And lastly, two lords in every county and liberty in which Irishmen were resident, were, in the absence of the chief governor, vested with power to treat with the Irish in all matters in which the public tranquillity was concerned."

While perusing these enactments we must acknowledge the propriety of some of them; but we must also feel indignant at that brutal policy which excluded the natives of the soil from the common rights of humanity, by rendering an Irishman's life of no value in the eyes of his oppressors; it strongly marks the ferocity of the English government towards Ireland, and not only extenuates, but fully justifies every act by which Irishmen have endeavoured to retaliate upon their cruel persecutors, who created such a hateful distinction which degraded them beneath the beasts of the field, for at the time when it was considered no crime to take the life of an Irishman, there were several strict laws against the killing of animals of the chase, and a hare or a deer was of more value in the opinion of the English government than a man, if that man happened to be an Irishman! Are we to be surprised, therefore, that insurrections, and wars, and tumults, should mark this period of Irish history? Such, however, was the fact, and the English settlers found it no easy matter to maintain themselves even in the province of Leinster, where rebellion was rapidly spreading, and every thing bore the appearance of danger, when Edward died in 1307.

CHAPTER II.

Edward II. The Irish enter into a treaty with the victorious king of Scotland. Edward Bruce lands in Ireland. Is crowned king. His death. Edward III. Various legislative measures. Cruelty of some of them. Richard II. and Henry IV. The duke of Lancaster. Henry V. and VI. Duke of York lieutenant. His popularity. Edward IV. and V. Richard III. and Henry VII. The imposture of Simnel and Warbeck. Poyning's law.

ON the death of Edward I. he was succeeded by his son, Edward II. whose first act with respect to Ireland was to make that devoted country a partaker of the worthless system which marked his whole reign, and led to his lamentable end. The favourite of Edward, Piers Gaveston, who had rendered himself so intolerable in England, that the nobility extorted a reluctant promise from the king that he would banish him entirely from his dominions, which was further enforced by a threatened excommunication from the clergy if he should venture to return. But Edward, unwilling to separate himself from this minion, instead of banishing Gaveston to the continent, as his nobles expected, appointed him his vicegerent in Ireland, and accompanied him as far as Bristol. Gaveston was extremely popular on his first arrival in Ireland, both with the English and the natives, on account of his bold and adventurous spirit, his love of magnificence, and his personal endowments; by his activity and zeal he was soon enabled to allay the rebellious spirit that prevailed. He had no sooner tranquilised the country, than he commenced erecting castles, and opening communications throughout the territory belonging to England. But this popularity created envy. Richard, earl of Ulster, no less affected by his prosperity than by his great pomp, endeavoured first to vie with him in splendour, and then to counteract his successes by hostilities. The earl of Ulster was the most powerful chieftain at that period in Ireland; but before his jealousies were proclaimed Gaveston was recalled to England, and the earl was shortly after invested with full

power to conclude a treaty with Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, whose ambassadors attended upon Edward's plenipotentiary in Ireland.

This was undoubtedly bad policy on the part of the English government, to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland upon much more advantageous terms than had ever been offered to the Irish, and at the same time to conclude that treaty in Ireland, thus proclaiming to the people of that country the degradation under which they laboured. It is well known that peace was at that time actually necessary to the English, being immediately after their disgraceful defeat at the memorable battle of Bannockburn; but another place might have been appointed than Ireland for settling the negotiations; it was a wanton insult upon the feelings of the Irish people, and they understood it as such; their hatred of their oppressors was nothing abated; and they implored the patriot Bruce to assist them in regaining their liberties, and to avenge themselves on his and their enemies; and to accomplish their designs they even offered to receive a king from Scotland. This request was too agreeable to the chivalrous spirit of Bruce, who had so lately cleared his own country of the common enemy, that he immediately consented to assist them in their efforts, and at the same time named his brother Edward as their future sovereign. The chieftains opposed to the English gladly accepted the offer, and the intelligence was received with the greatest joy throughout the whole country. Edward Bruce, with 6,000 veteran warriors, bred to the field under Wallace and Bruce, landed in Ulster, in May, 1315, to uphold his claim to his new kingdom. His standard was no sooner unfolded than hundreds of his new subjects daily flocked to it. Now did the pent-up spirit of revenge burst forth—the English settlers were murdered without remorse, and their dwellings and goods of every description committed to the flames. In a very short time nearly the whole of Ireland had declared in favour of the Scots. Bloody battles were fought, desolation and famine followed in their train; while Edward Bruce, whose career had been uncommonly victorious, was crowned king of Ireland.

Robert Bruce, meanwhile, after having settled the affairs of his own country and appointed a regency, repaired to

Ireland with another band of veterans to assist his brother by his experience ; but after a short time he was compelled to return, which he did with the less reluctance, as Edward's prospects of expelling the English from Ireland were favourable ; but he left a considerable part of his forces behind him, which were daily augmented by accessions of numbers from among the persecuted natives. The English settlers finding, in this deplorable state of affairs, that they need expect no assistance from the government at home determined upon asserting their own rights, and an effective association was soon formed among some of the principal English lords. The English monarch, though he could not, or rather would not, give them more substantial assistance, he had no hesitation in condescending to bestow upon them his royal favour.

The English leaders no sooner found themselves supported by sufficient numbers than they marched into Connaught, with the especial intention of chastising Fedlim O'Connor, who had shown an inclination to regain his liberty by joining the Scots. His forces were collected near the town of Arhunree, where both parties met, and a sanguinary battle ensued, which terminated favourably for the English. This defeat, however, exerted no influence upon Edward Bruce, who continued his victorious but devastating career to the very walls of Dublin.

The situation of the English settlers became daily more miserable, and Edward II. who appears to have had more faith in spiritual censures than in armed men, had recourse to the papal court imploring aid for his Irish territories, trusting that his subjects in Ireland would be more obedient to the commands of his holiness than the Scotch had been, who set at naught all the bulls which had been fulminated against them by the court of Rome. The pope accordingly issued a solemn sentence of excommunication against all the enemies of the king of England, more especially against those who were aiding and abetting the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce. This manœuvre was anticipated, and the Irish were prepared to meet it with a statement of their grievances, and of the many oppressions under which they suffered, as a justification, or at least an extenuation of their proceedings against the English. We extract the

III. who did very little for Ireland. His whole reign indeed, "was an uninterrupted tissue of the defection and reduction, confiscation and relapse, punishment and revenge of different chieftains, both English and Irish." In the year of his accession, a parliament was assembled at Dublin, and another at Kilkenny, but at neither of which was any thing of importance effected. In 1331, a papal bull was issued excommunicating the lawless Irish; but the only reply to this was an invasion of the county of Wexford. Edward was recommended by his parliament to repair to Ireland in person, and for this purpose forces were raised, and ships victualled for their transport. The same parliament, however, having changed their mind, advised him not to go, and the good king ordering his troops to be disbanded, remained at home; but he issued a commission to the prior of the hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem, in Ireland, to treat with the rebel captains, and grant them such terms as he might think necessary. But the king's revocation of all the grants that had been made in favour of the Irish, either by his father or himself, was the most memorable transaction of this reign, and spread universal discontent; so much was this the case, that Prynne observes, "It (Ireland) was upon the point of being lost for ever out of the kings of England's hands." In order to allay this commotion, Sir John Morris, chief governor of Ireland, summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin in the month of October; but a more general parliament was announced by the mayors of the king's city and principal nobility and gentry, to be held at Kilkenny, in November. In this parliament it was ordained, that ambassadors should proceed with all speed to the king of England, to protest "against his ministers," unequal and unjust government in Ireland, and to intimate that from henceforth they neither could nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his ministers as it had wont to be; and particularly they complained of them in the following questions: "*Imprimis*, How a land full of wars could be governed by him that was unskilful in war? *Secondly*, How a minister or officer of the king should in a short time grow to so much wealth? *Thirdly*, How it came to pass that the king was never the richer for Ireland?"

These interrogatories attracted the attention of the king.

and various regulations were adopted to provide for the redress of their grievances. In 1331, however, while the duke of Clarence was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the famous statute of Kilkenny was passed, of which the following is the substance.

By this statute "It was enacted, that intermarriages with the natives, or any connection with them as fosterers, or in the way of gossipred, should be punished as high treason; that the use of their name, language, apparel or customs, should be punished with the forfeiture of their lands and tenements; that to submit to be governed by the Brehon laws was treasonable; that the English should prohibit the Irish from grazing upon their lands; that they should not be admitted to any benefice or religious privilege; or entertain their bards; that it was felony to compel English subjects to submit to the law of coygne and livery; that sanctuaries were not to afford protection to traitors and felons; that wardens should be appointed to estimate the number of men and armour which each of the king's Irish vassals was obliged to provide for military service."

This list of threatened punishments, without one single promised reward is an additional proof of that tyranny which the English continued to exercise, and which more than justified that spirit of rebellion which has uniformly deformed the annals of the Irish nation. Some writers have been bold enough to assert, in the very face of this celebrated act of legislature, that Edward III. to the very end of his reign, constantly exhibited his anxiety to do justice to his Irish subjects; but what that justice was, we think is fully described in the statute of Kilkenny. Whatever might be Edward's disposition to conciliate his Irish subjects, his frequent changes of governors were fatal to the carrying on of any extended series of measures for the amelioration of the numerous oppressions under which that country had so long groaned. During the reign of Edward III. which continued fifty years, we find that no fewer than forty-three chief governors were appointed for conducting the affairs of Ireland; a circumstance of itself calculated to defeat any purpose of reformation in that country; and sufficiently explanatory of the fact, that Edward at his

death left his Irish subjects just as he found them at his accession—rebellious and dissatisfied.

Richard II. his successor, adopted the same mischievous policy, and during a reign of twenty-two years he appointed twenty-five governors of Ireland; a rapidity of succession which causes Mr. Flowden to remark, that "making reasonable allowances for the uncertainty of weather, the slowness of travelling, and the general difficulties of communication in those days, the averaged intervals of each appointment and recall would scarcely cover the term of nine calendar months." It was not before the commencement of the fifteenth century that any change in this ridiculous policy was recorded, when we find that the duke of Lancaster, eldest son of Henry IV. was appointed governor of Ireland for twenty-one years. The arrival of his royal highness in Ireland gave a weight and stability to the English government, whose provinces were for a time cleared of the numerous bands of robbers which had harassed the country from the commencement of his father's reign. But all the benefits which might have resulted from the permanent establishment of the duke of Lancaster, were frustrated by his recall to England, on account of the various troubles which agitated that country, and threatened to overthrow the usurped authority of his father; so that, according to Sir John Davies, "the seed of reformation took no root at all" in Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, who was chief justice, convened a parliament in the fifth year of Henry's reign, which confirmed the famous statute of Kilkenny; but if we are to believe the Irish annalists, parliaments were peculiarly obnoxious to the natives, for it is remarked that during one of these held in the fourteenth year of this reign, "the Irish fell to burning in divers places, as they had often done in parliament times."

During this turbulent reign the duke of Lancaster was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland two different times, the first for a term of twelve years, and the second for seven years. The agreement he made on his last appointment is curious; for, besides the provision made for his attendants and their pay, he was allowed, at the king's charge, to transport a family or two out of every parish in England to populate Ireland. With regard to this singular

agreement Mr. Plowden remarks, " Had this provision been acted upon, an influx of above 20,000 indigent individuals might have been thrown upon a distressed country, which from the long continuance of war and famine, was little able to support its own population. This appears to have been the first idea of plantations in Ireland, afterwards so fatally mischievous to that country. He was also enabled to grant benefices, and appoint his own deputy. It was further provided, that all the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the acts of absentees executed. Some historians relate that the duke of Lancaster was wounded under the the walls of Dublin; but they all agree that he returned to England within three months of his last appointment. Nothing important to Ireland happened during the remainder of this reign. Sir J. Davies, indeed, has remarked that 'after this the state of England had no leisure to think of a general reformation in the realm, till the civil dissensions of England were appeased, and the peace of that kingdom settled by Henry VII.' "

Henry V. succeeded his father, with every auspicious hope of his people; but with respect to Ireland his reign was little else than a dreary blank, as he was too much occupied with the recovery of his French territories, to pay much attention to his Irish subjects; but the most remarkable event was an act passed by the English parliament, in 1416, imposing penalties on Irish prelates for appointing Irishmen to benefices in England, or bringing Irishmen to parliament, lest they should disclose the councils of England to the rebels of their own country. Although the injustice of this act, as well as its impolicy, were obvious, it was so far rendered operative as to force all Irishmen out of England. As if nothing was considered sufficient for the degradation of this suffering people, we find another tyrannical law passed during the reign of Henry VI. in 1425, by which it was enacted, that if any Irishmen were found with their upper lips unshaven for a fortnight, (it was the fashion in Ireland to wear the beard on the upper lip) it should be lawful for any man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and as such to hold them to ransom.

We find the duke of York appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1449 for the space of ten years, upon the express

condition of receiving the whole revenue of Ireland without account, with an immediate advance of 2000 marks, and an annual pension of 2000 more from England; of disposing of all offices; of levying such forces as he should see fit, of being allowed to let the king's lands; of appointing his own deputy; and of returning to England when he thought proper. The reader of English history will perceive that by this last stipulation the duke was aware of the machinations that were in contemplation against him, and were the cause of his being removed from the calamitous scenes at home in which he was destined to act so prominent a part. He repaired to his government, however, where he exhibited great splendour and magnificence, and received the people of Ireland with an affability to which they had long been strangers. To the polished manners of a prince he added the policy of a statesman, and was particularly anxious to confer his favour equally on the heads of the two leading factions that then divided the country, the Geraldines and the Butlers. His administration of power was wisely and beneficially exerted; but it was soon manifest that all the acts of his government had a direct tendency to promote his views against the English crown. Indeed he did not endeavour to conceal his projects, and when he signified his intention of returning to England, orders were sent by the government to the sheriffs of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Wales, commanding them to oppose his landing; but he successfully eluded their vigilance, and speedily made his appearance in London, having left the earl of Ormond as his deputy in Ireland. Being defeated by the Lancastrians at Blore Heath, in 1455, he returned to Ireland, where he was joyfully received. The duke of York had been attainted by an English parliament; but that attainder by no means diminished the fidelity of his Irish subjects, but the reverse, as they almost unanimously declared in favour of the duke and asserted their determination to support his cause to the last. The English government sent over warrants to apprehend some of the leading Yorkists, who had fled to Ireland for shelter, and to bring them to justice; but York interposed his power, and the true value of the king's authority was at once obvious. The viceroy not only prevented the warrants from being put in force, but he prevailed upon the parliament of Ireland to enact a law,

making it high treason for any person, under pretence of any writs, privy seals, or other authority to attach or disturb the persons of strangers in Ireland. Nor was this law suffered to remain long as a dead letter; an English agent being sent into Ireland to attach some of the Yorkists, was immediately seized, tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

The duke of York remained in Ireland until 1460, when the success of his party induced him to return to England. On his arrival in London, accompanied by a numerous body of Irish adherents, he was declared successor to Henry by a parliament assembled for the express purpose; but the ambitious and intriguing Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry, collected together a powerful army in the north to oppose him, and the duke, who hastened to meet this force with a very inferior one of his own, was slain at the battle of Wakefield, and with him fell the fondest hopes of his party. The remainder of the reign of Henry VI. contains nothing worthy to be recorded as far as regards our present object.

Edward IV. commenced his reign in 1461, and appointed his brother, the duke of Clarence, to the lieutenancy of Ireland for life; but on the restoration of Henry, through the interposition of the earl of Warwick, in 1470, we find him restricted by a new patent to the office for twenty years only; the earl of Kildare was his deputy. During his holding the situation, nothing of importance occurred; and the same may be said of the brief reigns of Edward V. and Richard III.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was elected king by the acclamations of his soldiers, after the battle of Bosworth Field, and as he united in his own person all the claims of the York and Lancaster factions, his accession healed the wounds of civil war, and promised peace to the kingdom. The earl of Kildare was continued in his office of lord-deputy of Ireland, and his brother was appointed lord-chancellor. This country now became the scene of a most singular transaction. "One Lambert Simnel," says Barlow, "had been artfully tutored by Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to revive the extinct claims of the house of York. A report prevailing that the earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence, who had been born in the

castle of Dublin, had escaped from the tower. Simnel, who was a youth of comely and interesting appearance, was instructed to personate him, and to avoid any untoward mischance which might defeat the success of the scheme. Ireland was selected as the fit theatre of its first exhibition. Simnel accordingly arrived in Dublin, in 1486, and presented himself to the lord-deputy as the son of Clarence, and he exclaimed vehemently against what he artfully pronounced the usurpation of the earl of Richmond. The scheme was successful, and the news was soon spread abroad that the earl of Warwick had arrived. The people of Dublin instantly declared in his favour, and their example was followed by all the nation, except the citizens of Waterford, the prelates of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher and Ossory, the family of Butler, and the baron of Houth. These, however, were unable successfully to oppose the popular contagion. In a few days Simnel was solemnly proclaimed king by the name of Edward VI. and the earl of Kildare summoned the citizens of Waterford to proclaim the new king also. To this summons they returned an indignant answer, but the bearer of it was ordered to be hung. Meanwhile, Henry felt some alarm, and caused the captive earl of Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and publicly led in procession through the streets of London, in order to convince the world that he was still a prisoner, and that Simnel was consequently a notorious imposter. This had no effect, however, in defeating the scheme, for Simnel was still more solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Christ-church, Dublin, attended by the lord-deputy, the officers of state, the English nobles, and all the adherents to the house of York. The young adventurer, to keep up the solemn mockery, summoned a parliament, in which laws were enacted, and subsidies granted, and the utmost vengeance was denounced against all those who should presume to question his right to the throne. The city of Waterford was pre-eminently noticed in this denunciation of revenge, and its possessions and franchises were declared forfeited, in consequence of their pertinacious resistance to the new government. The ultimate issue of the business was that Simnel, attended by a large force, and with many men of note in his train, landed in England, in 1487, where Henry engaged with him near the village of Stoke, in the

county of Nottingham, and, after a well contested battle, gained a complete victory. The greater part of Simnel's adherents fell in the conflict, and Simnel himself was taken prisoner, as well as his first instigator, Simon the priest. Simon was sent to prison, and there paid the forfeit of his crimes; but Simnel was reserved for a still deeper humiliation. He was consigned by Henry to a menial situation in his kitchen; in which inglorious servitude the pseudo monarch passed the rest of his days. Meanwhile those Irish lords who had abetted his scheme, were busy in imploring and obtaining pardon from the king, whose deposition they would have accomplished if they could. It was the policy of Henry to grant them that pardon, and Kildare was accordingly retained in his government, with the assurance, however, that the continuance of royal grace would depend upon its future royalty. This royal amnesty, however, did not entirely extinguish all the personal animosity that reigned between some of the contending nobles. Desmond, O'Carrol, M'Carthy, O'Nial, O'Donnell, and others, made war and peace with each other, as if they had been independent princes rather than tributary subjects."

It might have been naturally supposed that the failure of Simnel's scheme would have prevented any similar imposture in future; but such was not the case. Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish Jew, was chosen, shortly after Simnel's discomfiture, to assume the character of Richard Plantagenot, who was also represented as having escaped from the tower; and Ireland was selected as the theatre of action. Henry, by removing the earl of Kildare from his government, and appointing the archbishop of Dublin as his successor, hoped to frustrate the intentions of the adherents to the house of York. The dismissal of Kildare produced a ferment in Ireland; and while the country was in a state of commotion, Perkin Warbeck landed on the southern coast, and entered the city of Cork as Richard Plantagenot, unattended by any army or retinue whatever. His stay was but short, but still long enough to arouse the jealousies that already prevailed; and the archbishop of Dublin was summoned to England, to give an account of his administration to the king. Sir Edward Poynings was appointed deputy, and invested with full

powers to hear all complaints and decide all controversies, to punish delinquencies, to reward merit, and to suppress all turbulence and discontent among the Irish. In 1495 he marched against Warbeck, who had once more rallied the Yorkists in Ireland under his banner, and defeated him; after which he summoned a parliament at Drogheda, in which many acts were passed, and among them that celebrated statute, called Poyning's law, a law which was repealed towards the close of the last century, and was hailed as the first signal of Irish independence. It is necessary that the history of this law should be understood, and we will here lay before our readers Mr. Plowden's detail of its nature and origin.

"Twenty-three different statutes were enacted for the purposes of settling the validity of many former statutes and ordinances, which had been ordained by parliaments or conventions of contested jurisdiction, of securing the pale against the incursions of the Irish, of extending the English law throughout the whole of the island, and introducing several regulations for the internal management of that kingdom. To effectuate this, an act was passed, whereby all statutes made in England before that time were established and made of force in Ireland; and for keeping up in future a complete English ascendancy and control in the English cabinet over the legislature of Ireland, it was enacted, *at the request of the Commons of the land of Ireland*, that no parliament should be there holden, 'but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council should first certify to the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the king and his council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under the great seal of England had and obtained.' No parliament was thenceforth to be holden in Ireland, but under this badge of submission to the English cabinet. Thus in the most extended view of the Irish legislature, was their parliament confined to a mere negative voice against the direction or approbation of the English cabinet. This

limitation of the Irish parliament to the *Veto*, has from the time of its passing been the constant theme of complaint from the Irish, and the occasion of too despotic a sway of the English government over the Irish parliament.

"All the Irish patriots throughout the whole of the last century uniformly decried Poyning's law as a most unconstitutional national grievance. As this statute precluded any law from being proposed, but such as had been preconceived before the parliament was in being which occasioned many inconveniences, and made frequent dissolutions necessary, it was provided by statute 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, chap. 4, that any new proposition might be certified to England in the usual forms, even after the summons and during the sessions of parliament. To remedy in some measure the inconvenience arising from these laws, the Irish lords and commons had adopted a mode of originating laws in their own houses. A lord or commoner applied to the house of which he was a member, for leave to bring in the heads of a bill, which being granted by a majority of the house, the heads were proposed, received after a regular discussion, alteration and amendment, and having passed through all the forms of parliamentary order, paragraph by paragraph, and being perfected to the satisfaction of the house, where they had originated, they were sent to the Irish privy council, in order to be transmitted to the king of England. If these heads of bills were transmitted to England by the Irish privy council (which was not always the case) and were assented to by the king, they were then transmitted to Ireland, and if not negatived by either of the houses of parliament, they received a formal royal assent from the viceroy. These pre-legislative proceedings were incessantly complained of by the people of Ireland, as blighting in the bud the most promising fruit. When the heads of a bill prepared by the Irish lords or commons dissatisfied the council, or displeased the viceroy, they were arrested in their course to the throne, and were in the technical language of the council 'put under the cushion,' whence they never reached the ear of majesty. When the heads (or practically speaking, the form or draught) of the bill came certified from the Irish council to the king, it was immediately delivered to the

attorney-general of England, to be perused and settled by himself, or the solicitor-general. It was, in fact, generally done by some conveyancing counsel, who had leisure to attend to it. In the year 1769, the inconveniency of this system was illustrated by a bill returned to Ireland, altered in seventy-four places, which had been successively revised by lord Thurlow, when attorney-general, lord Roslyn, when solicitor-general, and Mr. Macnamara, a chamber-counsel. The bill so metamorphosed was rejected by the commons of Ireland. The temporary duties expired some weeks before a new bill could be perfected; and in the meantime the merchants imported duty free. The commissioners without any existing law, levied the duties, seized the goods, and lodged them in the king's stores. The merchant, with the *posse comitatus*, broke open the stores, and the goods were conveyed away in triumph."

As we will have frequent occasions, in the course of this work, of observing the working of Poyning's law, we will not here stop to point out the degradation to which the Irish nation was subjected by it.

In addition to several other legislative acts performed by the parliament at Drogheda, we may here mention the attainder of the late lord-deputy, the earl of Kildare, who, in a singular manner contrived to evade it. Being summoned to England to answer his accusers, he was admitted into the presence of the king. "I would advise you," said his majesty, "to provide yourself with counsel." "Yes," replied Kildare, "the ablest in the kingdom," and taking hold of the king's hand, added, "I will take your highness for my counsel against these false knaves." His majesty was flattered at the integrity thus implied, while he was not displeased at the liberty taken by the earl. In the course of his trial he was accused of burning the church of Cashel. "I know I did," frankly replied Kildare, "but I thought the archbishop was in it." His prosecutors, at the conclusion of the trial, perceiving that they had not proved the charges against him, at least to the satisfaction of the king, they said to his majesty, "that all Ireland could not rule the earl," to which Henry promptly replied, "then that earl shall rule all Ireland." And he immediately appointed him lord-deputy of Ireland, in the place of Sir

Edward Poynings; nor was it long before Kildare's gratitude for this generosity of conduct was put to the test, by the rebellion of his son-in-law lord Clanricarde. His relationship, however, intimate as it was, did not prevent him from performing his duty. He speedily collected the English forces, and met the rebel lord at Knockston, near Galway. Clanricarde was defeated, and two of his sons made prisoners. This was the last event of any importance which occurred during the reign of Henry VII. who died in the year 1509.

CHAPTER III.

Henry VIII. The protestant religion attempted to be introduced into Ireland. Disqualifications attached to the catholics. Archbishop Browne. Reigns of Edward VI. queens Mary and Elizabeth. James I. His endeavours to conciliate the Irish. Plantations of English and Scotch settlers. Contumelious reception of the Irish deputies.

HENRY VIII. was in the nineteenth year of his age when he succeeded his father in 1509. He paid little attention to Irish affairs; and the earl of Kildare, as well as the other officers of state, held office till his death in 1513, when he was succeeded by his son Gerald, who distinguished himself by the vigour he displayed in his government, for which he was amply rewarded by the king; but the royal favours conferred upon him excited the envy of the earl of Ormond, who, in order that he might deprive him of the king's bounty, paid servile court to cardinal Wolsey, through whom all the streams of regal honour flowed; nor was he unsuccessful, for the deputy was summoned to England, and the earl of Surrey appointed to fill his place. Surrey discharged the duties of his office with satisfaction, and after a residence of two years in Ireland, he was succeeded by the earl of Ormond, who, in his turn, fell through the intrigues of the earl of Kildare, whom he had formerly displaced by his own. Kildare's honours, however, were not destined to be permanent. The king of France, who was then at war with England, endeavoured to harass Henry by proposing to enter into a treaty with earl Desmond, whose turbulence, Louis XII. was well aware, had already caused uneasiness to the English government. Henry immediately ordered Kildare to seize Desmond; but the earl, from sympathy towards his kinsman, affected to obey the order without actually doing so. The deputy was thrown into prison from which he was enlarged with much difficulty; but on the death of cardinal Wolsey, he regained the royal favour, and was appointed

to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and considered himself so securely established, that his conduct appeared more like that of an independent prince than a vicegerent. Henry, however, could brook no rival, and the lord lieutenant was peremptorily ordered to appear before the king and answer his accusers, and to entrust his government to some individual for whose conduct he could be responsible. Kildare unfortunately placed his son, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, an amiable youth in the twenty-first year of his age, in the vice-regal chair. Kildare no sooner arrived in London than he was committed to the tower, and a report was assiduously circulated that he was beheaded there. Lord Thomas no sooner heard this rumour, than he broke out into open rebellion with his adherents, which, after various successes, was ultimately suppressed by Sir William Skeffington. O'Nial, and O'Connor, who had joined in this rebellion, made their submission to Henry, and were pardoned; lord Thomas was likewise promised his pardon, provided he repaired to England, and made his submission personally. Confiding in the word of the king, he did so; but after his arrival, he was arrested on his way to Windsor, committed to the tower of London, and soon afterwards tried, condemned, and executed as a rebel.

With that spirit of tyranny for which Henry was so conspicuous, he considered the quelling of this rebellion as a species of new conquest, and seriously debated with his council whether he had not acquired a right to seize on all the temporal as well as spiritual estates in Ireland. His sanguinary mind was not yet satisfied, and he vowed revenge against the whole race of Kildare. Lord Grey, who succeeded Kildare in the government of Ireland, was peremptorily commanded by Henry to seize the five uncles of lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and send them prisoners to London. Three out of the five it was generally known, were averse to their nephew's proceedings; and though the other two acknowledged having countenanced and abetted them, yet they naturally expected a pardon from the treaty entered into with the rebels. Lord Grey invited them to a banquet, which they, unsuspecting of treachery, attended; and were basely captured, hurried off to London, and there executed for high treason. Lord Thomas's brother, a boy under twelve years of age, was rescued from the vengeance of the

foulest and most abhorred tyrant that ever sat on the throne of England, and conveyed secretly to Italy, where cardinal Pole received him as his kinsman, gave him a suitable education, and preserved the young lord to regain the honours of the family of Kildare. The earl of Kildare died in the tower through grief at the numerous disasters that had fallen upon his family; and it cannot fail to afford some satisfaction to the reader to learn, that lord Grey the perfidious slave of a deceitful tyrant, did not long survive the victims of his treachery, for he was himself beheaded for having been engaged in some real or fancied conspiracy against the king.

Henry VIII. tyrant as he was acknowledged to be, was instrumental, we will not pretend to say from any purity of motive, in introducing the reformed religion into his kingdom; and it cannot be denied, that from him, impure as the source undoubtedly was, flowed all those blessings which Great Britain now enjoys as a protestant country; and while our ancestors were groaning beneath the tyranny of Henry VIII. they knew not that they were enduring a monarch through whose vanity would be entailed upon their posterity the most substantial advantages. Henry began the great work of reformation in Ireland in 1535, upon which Mosheim makes the following observations in his Ecclesiastical History.

“The cause of the Reformation underwent in Ireland the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority was declared *supreme head, upon earth, of the Church of England*, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost rigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence, as well as authority he had in Ireland, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation. Henry showed, soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still further pro-

gress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the Reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it did in England. Mary pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were again obliged to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England."

The task of introducing the reformed religion into Ireland was found much more difficult than Mosheim would make us believe, for the Irish people have ever been tenacious, even to enthusiasm, of their religion; and if we apply the principles that the feelings and wishes of the many ought to controul and govern those of the few, to the Irish Roman catholics, who were at least ten to one of the population, who must have naturally felt themselves aggrieved by having the protestant religion foisted upon them and enforced by the terrors of the law. This has long constituted, and does still continue to constitute the principal source of dissension and discontent. The first person, however, who openly declared against the supremacy of Henry was the primate of Armagh, who held at that time the office of chancellor. He not only exhorted the clergy of his province to adhere to the supremacy of the apostolic chair, but dispatched messengers to Rome to represent the danger of the church, and to beseech the interposition of the pope. Archbishop Brown, meanwhile, was earnest in his endeavours; but finding obstructions greater than he could overcome, he recommended that a parliament should be summoned, which was accordingly done May 1st, 1536. Notwithstanding the prejudices of the people, the king found this parliament compliant enough to grant him every thing he wanted and copied all the acts which the English parliament had passed upon the same subjects—the king's supremacy was declared; the pope's authority was

renounced; and the king's marriage annulled. Still archbishop Brown found all his zeal insufficient for maintaining the cause of the reformation, although every thing was done that could be done partaking of violence and fanaticism. But this violence of persecution defeated the purpose it intended to promote; and religion was soon made the excuse for rebellions of a more cruel nature than any that had previously wasted that unfortunate country. O'Nial, O'Bryan, and several other Irish chieftains flew to arms, but they were subdued, and submitted to Henry, who conferred upon the rebel chiefs titles and dignities which cost him nothing; and that he might the more effectually reconcile them to the government, he granted to each a house and lands in the neighbourhood of Dublin, that they might with more convenience attend on the lord lieutenant and the parliament. By such means he at last made the reformation to a certain extent popular with the aristocracy; but upon the lower classes he failed to make the slightest impression.

Henry made another step towards the total subjugation of Ireland, 1542. His predecessors had hitherto been content with the title of lords of Ireland, but he caused an Irish parliament to enact, that "his highness and his heirs for ever should have the style and honour of the King of Ireland, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach that title, or to oppose the royal authority." The same parliament passed a very salutary law, which provided that electors were in future to be possessed of freeholds of forty shillings a year, and such as were elected for counties cities, and towns, should be resident in the places for which they were elected. All these enactments, however, failed in the object intended—the subduing the great mass of the people. There still existed a marked distinction between the native Irish and the English settlers; for while the English considered themselves bound by the laws instituted by the government, the Irish set them at defiance, regarding their rulers as aliens, and their laws as tyrannical. Sir John Davies describes the condition to which such a system reduced Ireland at this period. He says "For all this while, the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good parte of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And though Munster was anciently divided into counties,

the people were so degenerate, as no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them. None of the Irish lords or tenants were settled in their possessions by any grant or confirmation of the crown, except the three great earls before named; who notwithstanding did govern their tenants and followers by the Irish or Brehon law, so as no treason, murder, rape, or theft, committed in those countries was inquired of or punished by the law of England." And he likewise remarks "That the abbies and religious houses in Tyrone, Tirconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed or reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by religious persons until the reign of James I."

During the remainder of this monarch's reign we find no other transaction respecting Ireland worthy of record. He died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI. during whose short administration we find nothing of importance. On his death his sister Mary ascended the throne, in 1553, she restored the catholic religion, by which she to a certain degree, pacified the Irish people. Her reign was too short to allow time for putting her cruel designs in execution, and therefore fewer changes occurred as far as Ireland is concerned, than might otherwise have taken place; but when her sister Elizabeth succeeded to the crown incidents of greater importance happened.

The historian Hume observes, that "The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party she should embrace; but though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion." This policy was no less wise than it was prudent; and towards Ireland she adopted a similar one. But it was no sooner known that she professed the reformed religion than a spirit of discontent prevailed throughout that country. The earl of Sussex was lord lieutenant at this time, and contrived with the forces under his command to preserve the peace of the country for a short time. Instructions however were sent to him, desiring him to make a survey of all the

lands spiritual and temporal, and at the same time requesting that none should be let under their full value. He also received orders to sell the lands of Leix and Offaly to the best advantage. This measure gave rise to a general spirit of insurrection, especially in Leinster, where the survivors of the ancient families of Leix and Offaly considered themselves as robbed of their possessions, and regarded themselves as justified in committing every species of hostility against the purchasers of their inheritance.

Whatever pretence Elizabeth made on ascending the throne, there is little doubt that the prime object was to promote the protestant religion in Ireland, and even to go greater lengths than her father had attempted. Her intended measures, indeed, were so strong, that she felt convinced, unless some manœuvre was adopted to secure their success, even an Irish parliament would be against her. The lord lieutenant therefore received orders to predispose the minds of the members in favour of her object, and she also directed writs to the representatives of ten, instead of six counties, as had previously been the case. Considering herself pretty certain of a majority after these measures, a parliament was convened in the second year of her reign: in which it was enacted, that the spiritual jurisdiction should be restored to the crown; that all the acts of her predecessor, which related to the civil establishment of the catholic religion should be repealed; that the queen should be authorized to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all ministers and officers, on pain of forfeiture and incapacity; that any person who should in any way maintain the spiritual supremacy of the bishop of Rome, or aid or abet its being maintained, should forfeit for the first offence all his estates real or personal, or if not worth £20. should be confined in prison for one year; for the second he should incur a *præmunire*; and the third offence should be declared high treason; that the use of the Common Prayer should be enforced in Ireland the same as in England; that every person should attend the established church and the new service under pain of ecclesiastical censure, and the forfeiture of twelve pence for every offence; that the first fruits and twentieths of all church revenues should be restored to the crown; and that in future all

collations to vacant sees were to be vested in the crown, &c. &c. This parliament met on the 12th of January, and continued their deliberations till the 12th of February, 1560. We may well enquire, was there in the whole of Europe any but an Irish parliament who would have dared to enact such tyrannical laws, in complete opposition to the openly expressed wishes of at least nine-tenths of the people? Nor would an Irish parliament have presumed to do so if properly constituted.

The opposition to the proceedings of this parliament was so manifest that the lord-lieutenant was compelled to dissolve it, and hurry off to England to inform his royal mistress of the particulars. Lord Clare presents a very striking picture of the state of Ireland at this period, in a speech in the Irish house of lords, February 10th, 1800, which exhibits the impolicy of endeavouring to enforce modes of faith. He says "It seems difficult to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government than an attempt to enforce new modes of religious faith and worship, by severe penalties, upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecutions or attempts to force conscience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs; and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward VI. and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect than to foment a general disaffection to the English government; a disaffection so general as to induce Philip II. of Spain to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England."

To introduce new doctrines of religion into any country is a dangerous experiment; and persecution for opinions, where all opinions must be dubious, has been productive of more misery to the human race than any other system. The principles of toleration seem to be too little understood, even in the present age; intolerance, indeed, is a vice which nothing can extirpate from the human mind, for we find those who preach it up most zealously still guilty of it in some way or other—tolerant to what they wish, intolerant to what they oppose. Had Elizabeth and her successors acted upon a wise and liberal system of policy with regard to religious toleration, Ireland, instead of a sullen and dis-

contented subject, would now have been a generous and devoted friend. The ordinances passed by the first parliament of Elizabeth provoked the people on account of the violence they offered to their religion. Nonconforming clergymen abandoned their cures, and reformed ministers could not be found to supply them. The churches fell into ruin; the people were left without worship; and the laws that had been passed were either neglected or evaded with impunity; and in this manner the affairs of Ireland went on for several years, injury being still added to injury, and insult to insult. In 1569, another statute was enacted, by which the lord-lieutenant was empowered to present to all the dignities of Munster and Connaught for the term of ten years; and another for the attainder of Shane O'Neile, and the complete suppression of the name of O'Neile, and the entitling the queen's majesty, her heirs and successors, to the county of Tyrone, and to other territories in Ulster. Among other things, it asserts the title of the English monarch to the sovereignty of Ireland, as being superior to the Milesian race of kings; urging in support of this ridiculous pretence a fabulous tale of a fabulous king Gurmonde "son of the noble king Belan, of Great Britain, who was lord of Bayonne in Spain, as many of his successors were to the time of Henry II. who possessed the island afore the coming of the Irishmen into the said land." This direct legislative denial of all that the native Irish most fondly believed—their national traditions, and their pride of ancestry, was well calculated to irritate their minds, and goad them into rebellion.

We cannot be surprised that the Irish should entertain a very cordial hatred for the queen, and it is a well known fact that Elizabeth felt not the slightest affection for them. Her violent and imperious character could not brook opposition; and it may be judged, therefore, how little she would be disposed to endure her unsuccessful attempts to establish an English settlement in Ulster upon the forfeited lands there. Her resentments afforded equal grounds of disaffection to the English settlers. She ordered her lieutenant, Sir Henry Sidney, to impose a new tax by the way of composition for the charge of purveyance, which amounted to about £12, for every plough-land. Against this impost the inhabitants of the pale could obtain no redress from

their governors; they therefore assembled and deliberated, the result of which was, they sent a deputation of three confidential agents to the queen, to lay before her their case. These deputies, however, were committed to prison, as opposers of the royal authority; and Sidney received strict orders to imprison every person who should offer opposition to the new tax, and to dismiss all her servants who had been present at the original complaint, and neglected to maintain her prerogative. Still there were many, and those of the highest note, who persisted in remonstrating against this iniquitous tax, but they were committed to the castle. The whole Irish nation became excited, and the haughty queen quailed before the menacing attitude which they assumed. The deputies in England were set at liberty, as was also those who had been confined in the castle of Dublin; an act of justice to which she was impelled, not from any conviction of its propriety, but from apprehensions which she already began to have of hostility from Spain. Nor were these apprehensions without foundation. Philip II. sent, in the name of the pope, 700 Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, to assist Desmond, whose insurrection was yet unsubdued. They brought with them ammunition and arms for 5000 men, and landed on the coast of Kerry, where the Spanish general built a fort; but being besieged by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, and by lord Grey, who was then lord lieutenant, they made but a feeble resistance, and surrendered at discretion. They were afterwards all murdered in cold blood; a barbarous outrage at which the queen was greatly displeased, though it was attempted to be justified by the imperious circumstances of the inferiority of numbers on the part of the victors.

The second session of parliament took place in 1586, and a bill of attainder was passed against the earl of Desmond, and about one hundred and forty of his accomplices, all of whose estates were forfeited. Elizabeth also in the same year entered upon her darling project of extirpating the original population of Ireland by colonising it with English settlers. She commenced with the province of Munster. Mr. Plowden says, "Letters were written to every county in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers or adventurers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of threepence,

and in some places at twopence, to commence at the end of three years; and one half only of these rents was to be demanded for the three following years. Seven years were to be allowed to complete the plantation. The undertaker for 12,000 acres was to plant eighty-six families on his estates; those who engaged for less seignories were to provide in proportion. None of the native Irish were to be admitted among their tenantry. Amongst other advantages they were assured that garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers for their protection, and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir, Waham Saintleger, Sir George Bouchier, and others of less note, received ample grants."

The success of this measure was far from what Elizabeth anticipated, and she found herself compelled to appoint some person as lord lieutenant, upon whose address she could depend for putting an end to the deplorable condition of Ireland; and she fixed upon the young earl of Essex, whose personal accomplishments and chivalrous gallantry had gained a complete ascendancy over the feelings of the queen, as the fittest of all her courtiers for that purpose. Essex had many rivals at court; the most powerful of whom were Burleigh and Raleigh, who, foreseeing the inevitable consequence of attempting to subdue Ireland by force, artfully encouraged her majesty to appoint him, confidently expecting that he would fall into some difficulty, whereby they might work his ruin; or at least, they would remove from about the person of the queen a favourite whom they both feared and hated.

The earl of Essex departed for his Irish government in the month of March, 1599, attended by about one hundred and fifty persons of quality, besides a splendid retinue; fitting the favourite of the queen. Hume, in his usual masterly style, thus describes the condition of Ireland at the period of the new governor's arrival.

"Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no

durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them to their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives. And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form from the internal combination or policy of the Irish.

“ Most of the English institutions likewise by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for the preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

“ The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious, neglected all other enterprises, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which, in time, would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland, they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied from the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers free quarter upon the natives, Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish, introducing despair, nourished still further the sloth so natural to that uncultivated people.

“ But the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilised customs of their conquerors, they were refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters; being treated like wild beasts, they became as such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and dangerous.

“ As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience

than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who enlisting soldiers at their own charge, conquered provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed: military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued, and, by degrees, over the English, by whose assistance they conquered: and after their dominion had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to a barbarous empire, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws, of their native country.

"By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependant state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, were still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians.

"As the brutality and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes, with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilising of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and impracticable.

"The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that in an insurrection raised by two sons of

earl Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs and institutions, and had embraced a more cultivated and civilised form of life, than had been practised by their barbarous ancestors.

"The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year: the queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England; and with this small revenue a body of one thousand men was supported, which in extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to two thousand. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the occasion, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections and rebellions, which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the barbarity and disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

"The native Irish were so miserably poor, that their country afforded few other commodities but cattle and oatmeal, which were easily destroyed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives made Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more ready to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground, his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopt by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, 1,500 men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, mightily raised their spirits, supplied them with arms

and ammunition, and exalted the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty."

Such is a picture of Ireland at the time that Essex aspired to subdue it. When he landed at Dublin he deliberated with the Irish council upon the best methods of suppressing the rebels; but as he had, while in England, constantly censured those former commanders who had protracted the war, instead of striking one decisive blow; and determined not to fall into the same mistake, he insisted upon marching immediately into Ulster, against Tyrone, the chief rebel. The Irish counsellors persuaded him against this, as the season was too early for the enterprise, as the morasses would not be passable for the English forces; and that it would be better to employ them in an expedition into Munster. Many of those who advised thus, possessed large estates in that province, and were naturally desirous that the enemy should be first dislodged from thence. It is uncertain whether Essex was aware of this or not; but he followed the advice of his councillors, who were mean enough to disclaim any participation in it when they witnessed the unfortunate termination of the plan.

"Essex," says Hume, "obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their present defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become extremely sickly; and on their return to Dublin, about the middle of July, were surprisingly diminished in number. Their courage was even much abated: for though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprises, as against the lord Cahir and others, yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise; and as they were raw troops and inexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put

to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy, Essex was so enraged at this behaviour that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men: but this instance of severity, though necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and had increased their aversion to the present service.

"The queen was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprises; and was still more surprised that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and inclination. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, marched with a small body of 1,500 men into the county of Ophelie, against the O'Connells and the O'Mores, whom he forced to submission: but on his return to Dublin he found the army so diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of his condition, and informed them that if he received not immediately a reinforcement of 2,000 men, it would be impossible for him in this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for further inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so extremely averse to this enterprise, and terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarce lead 4,000 men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army, but was soon sensible that in so advanced a season it would be impossible for him to effectuate any thing against an enemy, who, though superior in number, were determined to avoid any decisive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place near the two camps was accordingly appointed. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle, but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission and respect to the lord-lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May,

renewable from six weeks to six weeks ; but which might be broke off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions ; and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy."

Such an inglorious termination of an undertaking which she had so much at heart, naturally excited the irascible temper of Elizabeth, and she commanded Essex to remain in Ireland till her pleasure for his return was notified to him ; but he being fully aware of her displeasure, and dreading the artifices of his enemies, resolved to disobey her orders, and suddenly returned. He was confined a prisoner in his own house by the queen's command's. Orders were given for his trial, and he fell a victim to the intrigues of his adversaries. He was tried, condemned, and privately beheaded in the Tower, February 25th, 1601.

Essex was succeeded in the government of Ireland by lord Mountjoy, who, during his administration, subdued the haughty and rebellious Tyrone, who acknowledged his guilt, implored the royal clemency, and renounced for ever the name of O'Niele, with all his pretensions to sovereignty, entreating to be admitted to some part of his inheritance for an honourable subsistence. This was the last act of importance in Elizabeth's reign, who died in 1603. Few sovereigns ever swayed the sceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth, few have enjoyed more uniform prosperity ; yet, after all her glory and popularity, she lived to fall into neglect, and sank into the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress which the wretch on the rack might pity, and which the slave who dies at the oar does not feel.

The successor of Elizabeth, James I. was peculiarly anxious to ingratiate himself with all his Irish subjects, and to make them believe he was disposed to favour the rights and privileges of the catholics, who no longer thought it necessary to practise their religion in secrecy ; but Mountjoy marched an armed force into Munster to punish this open violation of the law. When he reached Waterford he found the gates shut upon him, and the citizens refused to open them upon the plea of a charter from king John,

which exempted them from quartering soldiers; but Mountjoy threatened to cut the charter of king John in pieces with the sword of king James, and level their city to its foundations. The threat was successful; the gates were opened; and the other towns of the province following its example, the dawning hopes of toleration were destroyed at once.

In 1605, in order to conciliate the Irish, an act of oblivion and indemnity was passed, by which all offences committed against the crown during the late times of turbulence were pardoned. By the same act also, all the Irish who had hitherto received no specific protection from the English government, because living in immediate subordination to their chieftains, were admitted into the immediate protection of the king; a measure which according to Sir John Davies, "bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland."

James, indeed, may be regarded as having done more for Ireland than any of his predecessors. Hume observes, "To consider James in a more advantageous light we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland; and most of the institutions which he had formed for the civilising that kingdom being finished about this time, it may not here be improper to give some account of them. He frequently boasts of his management of Ireland as his master-piece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation.

"After the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the more difficult task still remained to civilise the barbarous inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well concerted plan; and in the space of nine years, according to Sir John Davies, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted.

"It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs which supplied the place of laws, and which were

calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder.

“By the *Brehon* law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine of pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which, if any one was willing to pay, he need not fear the assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric*. When Sir William Fitzwilliam, being lord-deputy, told Maguire that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which a little before had been made a county, and subjected to the English law. ‘Your sheriff,’ said Maguire, ‘shall be welcome to me; but let me know beforehand his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county.’ As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such offences could ever be obtained.

“The customs of *Gavelkinde* and *Tanestry* were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. Upon the death of any person, his land, by the custom of *Gavelkinde*, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate; and after the partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons, but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land, to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

“The chieftains and the Tanists, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was absolute; and notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, the chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish, ‘that they dwelt westward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow;’ meaning the country

where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

“After abolishing these Irish customs, and substituting English law in their place, James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil.

“A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. When Odoghartie raised an insurrection, a reinforcement was sent over, and the flames of that rebellion immediately extinguished.

“All minds being first quieted by an universal indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights which had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions was rigorously enacted; and no authority but that of the king and the law was permitted throughout the kingdom.

“A resignation of all private estates was even acquired; and when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent for the future all tyranny and oppression over the common people. The value of the dues which the nobles annually claimed from their vassals was estimated at a fixed sum, and all further arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties.

“The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country: husbandry and the arts were taught them: a fixed habitation secured: plunder and robbery punished: and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and the most civilized.

"Such were the acts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun."

This account of Hume, who is known to have been the apologist of the Stuarts, may perhaps be suspected of a little partiality, but no one, we think, will be found to deny the accuracy of the statements it contains.

A new parliament was convened in Ireland in 1613, after a lapse of twenty-seven years, for the purpose of providing some support for the newly established colony in Ulster. Chichester was lord lieutenant, and he pledged himself to convene such a parliament as should carry any measures the crown might wish; but he was not able to conceal his intentions from the country, and the knowledge of them excited general discontent; as one of this packed parliament's professed objects was to support the protestant establishment, the catholics, believing that it was intended to harass them with fresh penal enactments, took the alarm, and six of the principal lords of the pale addressed a letter to the king, expressing their apprehensions, and pointing out the infallible consequences which would ensue from the persecution of their faith. James, with his high notions of prerogative, paid no attention to this free remonstrance. Meanwhile Chichester, in order to secure the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, increased the number of new boroughs, till he found himself certain of a majority. When the parliament assembled, violent altercations took place between the court and country members; but the factitious majority raised against them excited the indignation of the catholic party, who for a time seceded altogether from the house. The parliament was soon prorogued, and the catholics sent agents to lay their grievances before the king; but on their arrival in London, two of them were sent to prison and the rest received a most ungracious reception from him. The claims of the catholics were referred to the decision of the English privy council, by whose advice James dismissed the agents, with a total rejection of their demands.

James, well pleased with the success of his first scheme

of colonization in Ulster, he proceeded to extend the system, and issued a commission of inquiry to scrutinize the titles and determine the rights of all lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts; by which he soon found himself entitled, upon the report of this commission, to make a distribution of 385,000 acres, which were apportioned to English settlers, and to some few of the natives. It may be here remarked, however, that the grossest violation of justice were committed, and private property appropriated in the most shameless manner, merely to gratify the colonizing whim of the king. This attempt, however, was the last important act which marked the reign of James I.; for according to Plowden, the remainder of it was "an uninterrupted scene of vexatious oppression of the recusants, grievous extortions of the soldiery and their officers upon the people, the execution of martial laws in the time of peace, the abusive exactions of the clergy and ecclesiastical courts, the unconstitutional interference of the privy council and castle chamber in causes which ought to have been determined by common law, the invasion of property in different plantations, and extreme rigour in executing the penal laws." James died in 1625.

CHAPTER IV.

Charles I. Vice-royalty of lord Strafford. The king's title to the lands in Connaught enforced. The rebellion of 1640. Causes of that event. Hume's description. Dublin saved from the insurgents. Earl of Ormond's hatred to the catholics. Execution of Charles. Fidelity of the Irish catholics. Proceedings of Cromwell. Sufferings of the native Irish. Court of claims. Termination of the protectorate.

CHARLES I. succeeded to the throne in 1625, on the death of his father; and though the transactions of Irish history during his unfortunate reign are inferior in interest to those of the sister kingdom, still they are of more importance than those of preceding reigns. The Irish people did at first enjoy a more open practice of their religion; but this was only a calm before a storm. Charles too soon displayed that insincerity which ultimately brought him to the scaffold, and his Irish subjects did not escape some of its civil consequences. The earl of Falkland, his first lord-lieutenant, by his conciliatory conduct gave the catholics every reason to hope for better times than they had yet enjoyed; but his recall, in 1629, dissipated these pleasing prospects for the future. He was succeeded by the two lords justices, viscount Ely the chancellor, and the earl of Cork the lord high treasurer, who, without any instructions, put in force the penal statutes of Elizabeth, with great severity. They were informed, it is true, that these proceedings were not acceptable to Charles, and at the same time it was suggested that they were not consistent with his interests in Ireland. But the most memorable events occurred during the administration of the earl of Strafford, who continued in office from 1633 to 1641, during which period the acts of his government form an important feature in the history of Ireland. He displayed great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but he did not acquire the affections of the people. "In a nation," says Hume, "so averse to the English government and religion,

these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, though to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, were, at bottom, haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed out at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him."

Had this eulogium been written in a spirit of impartiality, Mr. Hume might have added that Strafford exercised unbending severity throughout his administration; and the excessive haughtiness of his temper displayed itself equally to his own party as well as to the Irish. He neglected to summon several members of the council, on his first landing in Dublin, and those whom he was pleased to summon, he disdainfully dismissed, after keeping them waiting for two hours. Next day they remonstrated against this usage, when he told them he was under no necessity to take their advice, for at the peril of his own head, he would subside the king's army without their help, namely, by free quarters. This menace had the intended effect, as by it he obtained from the protestants a written promise, that they would provide the next year's contribution to the king. He then proposed to call a parliament, which gave great satisfaction; but he took such precautions to procure a parliament as would support all his views. "For the purpose of securing a protestant majority," says Plowden, "in parliament, the new lord-deputy, by his own account of it to secretary Coke, says, 'he sent out with the writs of summons about one hundred letters in recommendation of quiet and governable men. The lower house should be so composed that neither the recusants nor yet the protestants should appear considerably one more than the other: holding them as much as might be in an equal balance, as being thus easier to govern.' And for varying the balances of votes according to the exigency of circumstances, this wary deputy apprises us of the nature of the *corps de reserve* which he kept at command. 'I shall labour to make as many captains and officers burgesses in this parliament as I possibly can, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may always sway the business between the two

parties which way they please.' When the earl of Fingal represented to him that it had ever been usual for the lords of the pale to be consulted concerning the parliament, and the matters to be therein propounded, he told this nobleman, that 'assuredly his majesty would reject with scorn all such foreign instructions; that the king's own councils were sufficient to govern his own affairs and people without borrowing from any private man whatever.'"

A parliament thus constituted was not to be expected to ameliorate the condition of the Irish people. Strafford intimated, when met, that his majesty expected £100,000. debt to be discharged, and £20,000. a year constant and standing revenue to be set apart for the payment of the army; and that his majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so if they without condition supplied the king in this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting through all the expressions of a gracious and good king." Here was a regular bargain made between the king and the parliament at the expense of the people; yet the Irish received the offers of their sovereign with earnestness; but Charles was persuaded by Strafford to violate his promise, and the deputy consented to incur all the disgrace of such a proceeding. This act of infamy was not merely a passive one in the king, for he forwarded a letter to Strafford, thanking him for counsels which ought to have excited his greatest displeasure. The parliament voted him six subsidies amounting to £240,000 which far exceeded Strafford's expectation. The commons, however, drew up a remonstrance respecting his majesty's promised graces, and particularly in relation to the inquiry into defective titles. This they sent by a deputation to the lord-lieutenant; but in a short time after they were informed by him, that it had never been sent to the king, and that they might content themselves without making any more noise about defective titles, which he was determined not to depart from.

The parliament was dissolved in 1635, and Strafford commenced his inquiry into the king's title to the whole province of Connaught, which he pursued with unrelenting severity. Every description of knavery was put in force, and there was not a title but what was found defective, if

the deputy wished it so. The county of Leitrim voluntarily recognised the king's title and submitted to a plantation; Rosecommon, Mayo, and Sligo, found for the king without scruple; but the Galway jury refused to find for the king; and Strafford caused the sheriff to be fined £1,000 for returning an insufficient jury, and each of the jury was fined £4,000. their estates seized, and they imprisoned till the fine should be paid. Such was the administration of justice in this devoted country! But the whole odium of these arbitrary proceedings must not be thrown upon Strafford, for they were conducted with the knowledge and consent of the king himself, as expressed in the presence of his council. The Irish complained grievously of these transactions, but their complaints had no effect upon Charles; for in 1640 he recalled the lord-deputy, created him earl of Strafford, (his former title being lord Wentworth) and sent him back to Ireland with increased authority; but so painful was the sense of unpopularity to him now, that he even employed the mean expedient of manufacturing his own praises, and foisting them upon the public records. According to Plowden, "The preamble of the last act of subsidies contains the most fulsome panegyric of his *sincere and upright administration*, with thanks to his majesty for having placed over them *so wise, just, and vigilant a governor*. These very commoners, in the next session of parliament, entered into a solemn protestation (in which they were joined by the lords) 'that the aforesaid preamble to the act of subsidies was contrived, penned, and inserted fraudulently, (without the privity of the house) either by the earl of Strafford himself, or by some other person or persons, advisers, procurers, or actors of or in the manifold and general grievances and oppressions of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by the direction and privity of the said earl, on purpose to prevent and anticipate the just and universal complaints of his majesty's faithful, dutiful, and loyal subjects against him.'

The treacherous conduct of Charles and his minister had now become so notorious in Ireland, that they considered it no longer safe to persevere without at least some show of candour. The king accordingly wrote to the lords justices a letter of assurance that his living subjects should thenceforth enjoy the graces promised to them in

the fourth year of his reign. The parliament was soon after adjourned: and the people forgot former quarrels, and were willing to hope that their sovereign was sincere. During the recess, however, the grand rebellion broke out.

Every means were taken by the puritans, who had acquired an accession of power in Ireland, to produce a popish rebellion. The lords justices prevented the bills of grace from passing; they encouraged the bitterest persecution against the catholics; and the Irish apprehended that the Scotch covenanters would maintain their resolutions by fire and sword in the province of Ulster. Under such alarms, the persecuted catholics in the north took up arms against those whom they considered the enemies of God and their king. The dread of being exterminated for adherence to their faith was their strongest motive to insurrection; but when the torrent once burst forth, many smaller streams joined it and added to its impetuosity. Grievances at all events were not wanting.

Plowden observes, "Some were excited by the success of the Scotch covenanters, who by their irruption into England had obtained the sum of £200,000 to induce them to return quietly into their own country and lay down their arms; others, from the dread of the menaces of the covenanting army in Ireland, that they would exterminate every priest and papist out of the nation: many took from them zeal to their own or systematic abhorrence to the reformed religion under all its different forms and denominations: some of the old Milesian Irish seized upon this moment of confusion and weakness in the English government to revive and enforce their ancient claims, which they still considered as usurped by the English, and withholden from them by no other title than force: no inconsiderable portion of the nation was stimulated into insurrection by their clergy, who had been educated abroad, in hopes of procuring a civil establishment of the catholic religion, and by other foreign emissaries from courts, the politics of which prompted them to weaken the power of the British empire by the internal dissensions of its subjects. Many individuals, bereft of their possessions by plantations and forfeitures, persecuted for the exercise of their religious duties, or prevented from any useful or permanent occupation by the effects or the abuse of the penal laws, or the indolence

of their own dispositions, composed a formidable body of malcontents, who sought redress, preferment, or existence in the confusion of an unsettled and weak government. But the main source of the evil lay in the existence of real grievances, which formed a plausible rallying point to all; namely, the too well founded apprehension of an immediate general massacre, or extermination of the whole body of the catholics. There prevailed at that time a conviction that the armed force in Ireland was generally hostile to the king, and that the English parliament had, either by concession or usurpation, acquired the government of the kingdom of Ireland. All the remonstrances of the catholics expressed their loyalty to his majesty, and tenders of service against his enemies, for such from that time they considered the covenanters, and all those who supported or adhered to them."

When it became known that a spirit of insurrection generally prevailed throughout Ireland, a proclamation was issued by the lords justices, October 23rd, 1641, in which they declared that a detestable and most disloyal conspiracy had been detected, which had had originated with some evil affected Irish papists, and which spread universally throughout the kingdom. The terms of this proclamation were not very definite, and many who considered themselves included within its comprehensive expressions; and the lords and gentlemen of the pale immediately represented in a petition to the lords justices and council, that they and other innocent persons might seem to be understood as catholics in the general terms of the proclamation; in answer to which petition, an explanatory proclamation was issued, which stated, that by the words "Irish papists they intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster, as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old English of the pale or other parts of the kingdom."

The rebellion at length broke out in all its horrors. The principal leaders were lord Maguire, sir Phelim O'Neale, and Roger More, and many of the rude but brave and oppressed natives, joined the conspiracy. Sir Phelim O'Neale and the other conspirators were to commence the insurrection throughout the kingdom by a simultaneous attack upon all the English settlements, while lord Maguire

and others were to surprise the castle of Dublin. Winter was fixed upon for this revolt, as in that season it would be more difficult to obtain supplies and reinforcements from England; and they expected assistance from France according to the promise of cardinal Richelieu. The intelligence that daily arrived from England of the malignity expressed by the commons against the papists gave them hopes of being joined by the mass of their countrymen. The government of Ireland, meanwhile, was lulled into security while on the very brink of danger. The earl of Leicester had been appointed lord-lieutenant, but he still remained in England, and the government was administered by the lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase. The fancied security in which they reposed, was soon disturbed; for an Irish protestant of the name of O'Connelly informed Parsons of the intention to seize the castle, on the very eve of the attempt. The panic became general; the castle was secured, and Maguire, one of the conspirators was apprehended, and another of the name of Mahone, who gave information respecting the general insurrection. All was now tumult, alarm, and horror; the conspirators were betrayed, and they took up arms in their own defence; the government were aware of the intended revolt, and were prepared to meet its force and to resist it; and the most dreadful scenes ensued. We will here give some passages of Hume's peculiarly interesting account of this rebellion.

"Though O'Connelly's discovery saved the castle from a surprise, the confession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from the leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations and flocking together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever in any

nation was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

"But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those more than barbarous savages: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost license, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of example which transports men beyond all the motives of conduct and behaviour.

"The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children taught by the example and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases or defenceless children of the English. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, yet, because they bore the name of Eng-

lish, were wantonly slaughtered, or when covered with wounds turned loose into the woods and deserts.

"The stately buildings, or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground; and where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for their defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to these insulting butchers.

"If any where a number assembled together, and assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by a revenge on their assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

"Others more ingenious still in their barbarity tempted their prisoners by the fond love of life to embroil their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

"Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of RELIGION resounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these savages, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter, and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious. Nature, which in that rude people was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was further stimulated by precept; and national prejudices poisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in their expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.

"Such was the barbarities by which Sir Phelim O'Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalised their rebellion: an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The gene-

ious nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to O'Neale's camp, but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after he abandoned a cause polluted with so many crimes, and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps too by the unrestrained brutality of his nature, thought without any courage or capacity, acquired the entire ascendant over these northern rebels. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: the Scots at first met with more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to a passive neutrality, the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations: and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country; others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence; and by this means the Scottish planters, most of them at least, escaped with their lives.

"From Ulster the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish in these other provinces pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English from their houses, with dispoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword of the barbarians had left unfinished. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin and the other cities which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he himself expected so soon to share. There the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance

obeyed his last commands; and abandoning him in his utmost distress, reserved himself to the hopes of avenging that death which all his efforts could not prevent nor delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears or lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories, and found every heart, which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion.

"The saving of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and discovered to the view, a scene of misery, beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compassion seized the amazed inhabitants aggravated with the fear of like calamities: while they observed the numerous foes, without and within, which every where environed them, and reflected on the weak resources, by which they were themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were enlisted into three regiments: the rest were distributed into their houses; and all care was taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a period to their lives: others, having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had saved. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired, without other consolation than that of receiving, among their countrymen, the honours of a grave, which, to their slaughtered companions had been denied by the inhuman barbarians.

"By some computation, those who perished by all those cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand: by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they must have been near forty thousand."

This is the narration of Hume; the further details will be given as briefly as possible. The rebels, not content with employing open force, endeavoured to strengthen their cause by deceit. They pretended to have been au-

thorized by the king and queen to take up arms for the purpose of vindicating the royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament; and in order to support this assertion, sir Phelim O'Neale having murdered lord Caulfield, found in that nobleman's house a royal patent, from which he tore the seal and affixed it to a forged commission. Intelligence of this rebellion was speedily sent to Charles, who immediately communicated it to the Scottish parliament, expecting from them and the Scotch nation a ready assistance; but as they were at the time displeased with the king, and having no immediate interest in the affair, they remained inactive.

Unable to subdue the rebellion, Charles was compelled to have recourse to his English parliament; but they, pretending to believe in O'Neale having received the king's commission, laid the whole blame of the insurrection upon their unhappy monarch. The king at length signed a commission, directed to the marquis of Ormond and others, to meet the principal confederates who had petitioned his majesty to listen to their grievances, and to receive in writing what they had to say. Instead of complying with the king's commands, however, Ormond obeyed those of the English parliament and proceeded towards Ulster with an army of 6,000. The marquis was the only one of the commissioners who did not attend the confederates, who delivered to the other commissioners a full list of their grievances, which was transmitted to his majesty. Charles, in return, informed the lords justices that he had authorised the marquis of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects for a cessation of hostilities for one year, and desired they would use their best endeavours to effect this. The determined hostility of Ormond to this measure frustrated all the efforts of the king to accomplish this object, and it was not till a fifth letter from his majesty, September 7th. 1643, that the marquis submitted to his most urgent commands.

This cessation was no sooner agreed upon, than the northern army under the command of Ormond, rejected it, and immediately took the covenant. Lord Inchiquin openly revolted from the king, and was appointed president of Munster by the parliament, and administered an oath to each of his followers, pledging them to extirpate catholicism, and to exterminate the Irish. The English parlia-

ment, whose interest it was to find fault with every measure of the opposite party, published a declaration against the cessation in which they reproached Charles with his favour to the Irish papists.

Ormond's inveteracy against the catholics prevented him from seconding what he well knew to be the ardent wishes of the king with respect to his Irish subjects, and he contrived to delay any peace, until at last peace became unavailing, on the suspension of the royal authority by the imprisonment of the king in 1646. Charles was convinced of the loyalty of the Irish catholics, and he wished to alleviate their sufferings; but his benevolent policy was frustrated by the treachery of Ormond; who, to crown his perfidy, surrendered the castle of Dublin and the king's authority to the commissioners of the parliament. But he was not a traitor without a traitor's hire; for he stipulated for £5,000 in hand, £2,000 a year for five successive years, and a total discharge of the heavy encumbrances upon his property. He met with the merited reward of his perfidy, however, after this base surrender, for the very persons to whom he had sold it, ignominiously expelled him from it; and he was compelled to seek refuge in France, as a warrant was issued for his apprehension by the parliament.

The confederated catholics met at Kilkenny after the departure of their arch enemy, where they considered "that his majesty was in restraint, that all addresses to him were forbidden, and that some members of parliament who had ventured to speak in his favour were expelled, therefore, in that extremity there being no access to his majesty for imploring either his justice or mercy; all laws either human or divine did allow the said catholics to take some other course, in order to their defence: not against his sacred majesty, but against those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to destroy or extirpate the said catholics."

Ormond, upon finding himself the victim of his own treason, determined now to try if loyalty would not be more profitable; and with a view of making the Irish catholics the instruments of his revenge, he landed at Cork, September 29th, 1648. Concealing his violent hatred of them with a skilful duplicity, he was joyfully received, and invited

by the general assembly at Kilkenny to conclude a peace, or join with the nation in making head against the parliamentary rebels; the nobility and gentry congratulated him, and he was lodged in his own castle, with his own guards about him. In all discussions, however, with the catholics, he steadily refused every proposal which led either to the toleration of the catholic religion, or to the repeal of the penal laws. Peace was at length concluded January 17th, 1649, only fourteen days before the judicial murder of Charles I. a deed no doubt accelerated by Ormond's perfidy, in having deprived him of the assistance of his Irish catholic subjects, of whose unshaken faith and loyalty to their sovereign he was deeply convinced, but at the same time resolved that their sovereign should not be benefited by them. Plowden remarks, that, "it is no small unequivocal mark of the eminent loyalty and fidelity of the Irish catholics, that at Charles' execution, they formed the only compact national body throughout the extent of the British empire, who had preserved untainted and unshaken their faith and attachment to the royal cause, although they had been throughout his reign more oppressed, persecuted, and aggrieved by their sovereign, than any other description of his subjects whatever. No sooner was the melancholy death of Charles conveyed to Ormond, who was then at Youghall, than he instantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king by the style of Charles II."

After the death of Charles the catholics continued to struggle in defence of the throne, and Ormond at the head of the confederates, soon reduced most of the strongholds in the north of Ireland. Dublin and Londonderry, however, resisted his power, though he was peculiarly anxious to obtain possession of the former place, which he had formerly betrayed. He was defeated at Rathmines, by a force under the parliamentary governor of Dublin, very inferior to his own; and the Irish catholics, who had not the baseness of their leader, saw in this defeat strong grounds of suspicion against Ormond, which were strengthened by the failure of all his subsequent proceedings.

The exiled monarch, meanwhile, wrote a letter from the Hague, approving of the articles of peace with the confederates; yet, by the advice of Ormond, he accepted the invitation of the commissioners to seat himself on the

throne of Scotland, and on the 23rd of June, 1650, he arrived in that country, and signed the solemn covenant, thus choosing rather to attempt the recovery of his dominions by hypocrisy in Scotland than by gallantry in Ireland. Two months afterwards, Charles published a declaration, "that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he did detest and abhor popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy: resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power;" and as a proof of his treachery towards his Irish subjects, he added "that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of his allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion, for which he did from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord; and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring him to his throne." Ormond, who had advised this proclamation, knew that it would alienate the affections of his Irish subjects, who saw themselves exposed to that merciless persecution which was expressed in every clause of the covenant; they indeed saw themselves the victims of their monarch's perfidy, in defence of whose rights they had shed some of their dearest blood, still their allegiance was not to be corrupted.

Cromwell, however, was determined not to rest satisfied till he had extinguished the loyalty of the Irish, and cunningly confounded loyalty with popery, and directed the fury of the puritans against the religion as well as the fidelity of the catholics. He eagerly sought to crush the last remaining stay of the Stuarts in subduing their catholic adherents in Ireland. On the 15th of August, accompanied by 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, he landed at Dublin, where he remained a fortnight to recruit his forces, and then marched with 10,000 men to Drogheda, which surrendered in consequence of a promise from Cromwell, that all should receive quarter who would lay down their arms. He kept his word for two days, when, having disarmed all the garrison, he ordered the whole to be massacred, which was so faithfully executed, that only thirty escaped with their lives, and these were transported into Barbadoes. Ormond himself, in a letter, speaking of the massacre at

Drogheda, says "that on this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself and any thing he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna." Wexford was betrayed by colonel Stafford, whom Ormond had appointed governor of the castle, and, according to Ludlow, the slaughter was almost as great as at Drogheda. In addition to the terrors which his severities excited, Cromwell added that of uncommon vigour and promptitude. Proceeding towards the south, he obtained a partial success. Ross surrendered unconditionally. Ireton was compelled to raise the siege of Duncannon, but Inchiquin was defeated by Cromwell, and Ormond was compelled to retire to Kilkenny. He failed, however, in two attacks upon Waterford; and retired from Kilkenny in consequence of hearing that the traitor who was to have delivered the place to him, had been discovered and hanged two days before. His army, as the winter was approaching, went into quarters in Munster. Early next year they again took the field and commenced the siege of Kilkenny, which was defended by the garrison, now reduced by the plague to 450 men, with such bravery, that Cromwell was about to retire, when he was secretly advised by the mayor and citizens to persevere. He did so, and a surrender upon honourable terms ensued. The regicide general, whose success did not come up to his expectations left the conduct of the war in Ireland to Ireton, whom he appointed his successor, and hastened to England. Ireton, after some successful efforts in Munster, died of the plague, November 26th, 1651. Ormond, who found that he could not oppose the power of the parliamentarians, without the assistance of the catholics, chose rather to give up the cause of his royal master, and surrendered his authority to the earl of Clanricarde, whose loyalty and integrity were without suspicion. All Ireland was now, with the exception of the province of Connaught, the county of Clare, the city of Limerick, and the town of Galway, either in the actual possession or under the control of the parliament. Connaught and Clare were, for the greater part waste, and Clanricarde, unable to support the troops under his com-

mand, threw himself into the town of Carrick, where he was besieged and compelled to submit, and obtained liberty to transport himself with 8,000 men to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth. Clanricarde left Ireland in 1652, and shortly afterwards, Mortagh O'Bryen, the last of the Irish commanders, submitted to the parliament on the usual terms of transportation, by the favour of which upwards of 27,000 men had been exiled that year.

At the conclusion of this war the country was little else than a vast desert. Its flourishing population had been wasted by fire and sword, by want and disease, and by transportation; and it was at one time proposed by Cromwell to extirpate the natives from the face of their own country; but this was considered too horrible, and another plan was substituted, the perfidy of which was a little masked. This was styled an *act of grace*. Plowden says "The whole native population of Ireland, that professed the religion of their ancestors, were driven in hordes into Connaught and Clare, then a desolate waste, and a proclamation was published that if, after the 1st of March, 1654, any Irish catholic, man, woman, or child, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, they might be killed by any person who should meet them, without charge or trial. Arbitrary allotments of these wasted lands were made, though some pretension was pretended to be had to the proportion of the possessions of which individuals had been elsewhere divested; but the merciful donative was fettered with an insidious obligation of releasing and renouncing, for themselves and their representatives for ever, whatever estates or property they or their ancestors had possessed. Thus were the scanty wrecks of the native Irish made martyrs to royalty, and penned up like hunted beasts in the devastated wilds of Connaught, hardly existing in the gregarious and promiscuous possession and cultivation of the soil, without the means of acquiring live or dead stock, and wanting even the necessary utensils of husbandry. This tyrannical appropriation of the soil of Connaught and Clare went to divest the possessors of their inheritances, as much as if their estates had been situated without the precincts of this proscription."

Every species of tyranny and oppression was exercised

upon the inhabitants of Ireland during the protectorate of Cromwell; and but for the benevolence of the usurper's son Henry, who possessed the government for nearly four years, not a gleam of sunshine would have illuminated this gloomy period. So pure was Henry's administration of justice, that when he departed for England he had not, it is said, sufficient money to pay the expenses of his journey. The death of Cromwell in 1658, and the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, created a new era in Irish history.

How that restoration was brought about belongs more properly to a history of England than of Ireland; but when it became evident that such a design was entertained, lord Broghill, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, wrote to the king proffering their assistance. Coote seized upon the castle of Dublin, but neither he nor Broghill made any very vigorous efforts in the royal cause, until they saw what was likely to be the issue of their undertaking. It may be supposed that the native Irish, cooped up in Connaught and Clare, who had fought so long, though unsuccessfully, would hail with joy the return of Charles to the throne of his inheritance; and it may naturally be supposed that these suffering loyalists would experience the grateful benevolence of the restored monarch, who might have been expected to recall them from the wastes of Clare and Connaught, restored to the possessions of which they had been robbed by Cromwell because they had remained faithful to the royal cause. Had Charles been actuated by a true spirit of generosity, he would have done so; but such, says Plowden, "was the force of prejudice against the Irish, who resisted the usurpation of Cromwell almost to extirpation, and spent their last blood and treasure in supporting the royal cause, that by the first legislatures after the restoration, the rebellious regicides were established and confirmed in the wages of their sanguinary usurpation. Thus basely and inhumanly were the crimes of one kingdom compromised by the forfeitures of the other."

As a proof of the manner in which justice was dispensed by Charles, and of the gratitude which he felt towards those who had murdered his father and most strongly supported the rebellion against himself, he created Broghill

earl of Orrery, and Coote earl of Monteith, and appointed them lords justices of Ireland. A parliament was convened on the 8th of May, 1661, but it was constituted so as to carry into effect the favourite measure of the protestant party, that of confirming the intruders in their possessions, and of banishing for ever from the native Irish all hopes of regaining their paternal estates. The duke of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland, and he it was who framed and settled the king's declaration, the acts of settlement and explanation, and he also made out the list of the persons excepted by name out of by the ruinous effects of that act amounting to about 500. These acts are thus explained by lord Clare in his speech in the house of lords February, 1800.

"The act of settlement professes to have for its object the execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and the satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and others, his subjects there, and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the king's English and protestant subjects, by a general sweeping clause vests in the king, his heirs and successors, all estates real and personal, of every kind whatsoever, in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21st of October, 1641, were seized and sequestered into the hands, or to the use of Charles I. the then king, or otherwise disposed of, set out, or set apart, by reason or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, assigned, or distributed to any person or persons, for adventurers, arrears, or reprisals, or otherwise; or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person was in possession for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus in the first instance vested three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the king, commissioners are appointed with full and exclusive authority to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called, in other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for taking a part in

the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles I. But with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisals should be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of their inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act; but I wish, gentlemen, who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know, that seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out under the authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island. Many of the latter class, who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well from the difficulties imposed upon them by the court of claims in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisals to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the duke of York. The parliament of Ireland having made this settlement of the island in effect on themselves, granted a hereditary revenue to the crown, as an indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquished by Charles II."

The Court of Claims, here mentioned by lord Clare, was proposed and modelled by Ormond, who appointed the first members of it, but whose conduct was so corrupt that he was compelled to dismiss them, and substitute others of greater respectability. The system was designed to favour the protestants and to oppress the catholics. But whatever Ormond proposed was adopted, and whatever he approved was persevered in, such was the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of the king; he was appointed lord lieutenant, and the Irish parliament granted him £30,000 as a reward for his services. The commissioners nominated to execute these acts of settlement, were not much regulated in their decisions either by justice or humanity; and at the expiration of the twelve months, the time allowed for holding this court, they broke up, having decided only upon six hundred out of four thousand claims, the remainder being left "to be ruined merely for the want

of that common justice of being heard, which is by all nations allowed to the worst of malefactors."

Ormond was resolved to secure a true protestant interest in Ireland, and he took care that the council, the parliament, the army, the magistracy, and the bench, should be composed of persons devoted to the accomplishment of this project. The catholics, broken down and dispirited, submitted to their destiny; not indeed without complaints, but without any attempt to redress their grievances by force of arms. Their loyalty was rewarded by an unceasing persecution during the whole reign of Charles II. In 1681, Ormond was succeeded in his government by lord Roberts, who in his turn was succeeded by the earl of Essex: and during the remainder of this reign nothing of importance occurred.

CHAPTER V.

James II. Hopes of the catholics. James visits Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. Flight of James. King William returns to England. Capture of Athlone and Galway. Earl of Marlborough takes Cork and Kinsale. Siege of Limerick. the Irish character.

ON the accession of James II. the catholics of Ireland hoped to receive as a gift that which they had hitherto endeavoured to gain by supplication, and looked with anxiety to the first measures of his government; they found in them the operation of principles which raised them from despondency. James placed the government of Ireland in the hands of Boyle, the lord primate and chancellor, and the earl of Granard, appointing them lords justices; but they grew tired of their new dignities, and solicited to be recalled; and James appointed his brother-in-law, the earl of Clarendon, as their successor. The king's intentions evidently were to fill all the great offices in Ireland with catholics; and the earl of Clarendon, although a protestant, undertook to carry his wishes into effect. The consequence was, that catholic judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, were nominated, and the army was commanded by catholic officers. The earl of Tyrconnel, a catholic nobleman, was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, with a power which made him independent of the lord-lieutenant.

These measures excited considerable alarm among the protestants, and many of them who possessed property fled with it, for they knew not how soon it might change owners if they remained. Tyrconnel behaved with great haughtiness, but he gained the confidence of the catholics, and at their instigation he repaired to England, in the hope that he might prevail upon the king to abrogate the act of settlement, and was so far successful as to obtain the king's promise in favour of its repeal; nor was this all, for in 1686, he returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, which tended in no small degree to alienate from the king the

affections of his Irish protestant subjects, as Tyrconnel was peculiarly obnoxious to them, as they were aware he had an unbounded influence over the king's mind, and they knew also that he was entirely devoted to the interests of the catholics, and therefore had little reason to expect any thing very favourable to them.

James was enthusiastically bent upon establishing the catholic religion in Ireland; but he fell a victim to his enthusiasm. The protestants had long been impressed with the danger which threatened them, and in the north they organized themselves, appointed officers, had regular meetings, chose governors of counties, nominated councils and committees to transact their affairs, and assumed all the appearance, and exercised all the functions, of a regularly formed body hostile to the throne, and expressing their hostility, a considerable time before the abdication of James. This formidable force had considerably augmented, and gained strength several months before the landing of the prince of Orange.

When James abdicated the English, he did not consider himself as having forgone all claims to the crown of Ireland, neither did his catholic subjects there think that he had. But the protestants were of a quite different opinion, and they were determined that he *must* abdicate. James retired to France and the prince of Orange had arrived in England. Tyrconnel summoned the loyalists to unite in defence of their king, against the usurper, as he was pleased to style William, and against the protestants in the north who had arrayed themselves in arms in favour of William. He soon collected an army of about 30,000 men, who were officered almost wholly with catholics, who relied on the repeated assurances of James that he would come over and head them in person: as the French monarch, at whose court he was residing, had offered him a French army to assert his rights, but he declined the offer, nobly declaring "that he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." In accordance with this resolution James sailed from Brest, with a strong armament, having 1,200 of his Irish subjects on board, with about a hundred French officers, and landed at Kinsale, whence he proceeded to Dublin, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. According to

Leland, "addresses were instantly poured in upon him from all orders of people. That of the protestant established clergy touched gently on the distraction of the times and the grievances they had experienced. He assured them of protection; he promised to defend, and even to enlarge their privileges. But his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion, when all the remaining protestants of the privy council were removed, and their places supplied by D'Avaux, Powis, Berwick, the bishop of Chester, and others of his zealous adherents. He now issued five different proclamations: by the first he ordered all protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom to return, and accept his protection, under the severest penalties; and that his subjects of every persuasion should unite against the prince of Orange. The second was calculated to suppress robberies, commanding all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes. A third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops. By the fourth he raised the value of money. And the last summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May, and which did meet, and did sit from that day to the 12th of July, and then adjourned to the 12th of November following."

James's landing in Ireland, and the consequent events, we believe, are familiar to every reader of Irish history, we will, therefore, only give a succinct detail. It is well known that count Schomberg arrived with an English army of 40,000 men, which William afterwards headed in person. He sailed from England in the month of June 1690, and landed at Carrickfergus, where he was joyfully welcomed. Here he joined the relics of Schomberg's army, and his whole force, including a great proportion of foreign mercenaries, did not exceed 36,000 men. James's force was about 45,000. Of these he kept 30,000 with himself, and distributed the rest through the different fortresses of the country. From Carrickfergus William proceeded to Belfast, and from thence to Drogheda. James, meanwhile, had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, where, if he had been so inclined, he might have successfully disputed every inch of ground; but he chose rather to pass the Boyne and encamp on the south side of it. Here he called a council of war to deliberate as to the best

mode of procedure, whether he should make a stand and risk all upon the issue of a battle, or march to Dublin, and abandon all the intermediate country. His council, composed of Irish and French officers, were unanimous in the opinion that though their position was extremely advantageous, it would be hazardous to risk the whole cause upon a single battle; and they therefore advised him to proceed to the Shannon with the horse and part of the foot, and there wait the French king's promise of a large fleet to co-operate in the Irish seas. This prudent advice, however, was overruled by James, who insisted that they must stay and defend the Boyne, lest by marching to Dublin they should dispirit those who were favourable to his cause. This resolution being taken, and the prince of Orange's troops being encamped on the opposite side of the river, both parties prepared for battle, on the 30th of June, 1690. As William was riding along the banks of the river he was wounded in the shoulder by a cannon ball, and though it was but slight, still the rumour spread that he was killed. It even reached France, and the court of Versailles indulged in an indecent rejoicing at the event; but the reader may judge of their mortification when they learned that he not only lived but was victorious.

Having called a council of war, William determined upon crossing the river in three divisions, commanded severally by duke Schomberg, by the count his son, and by himself in person. Having effected this manœuvre with great skill, the troops of James began to waver, but they were partly rallied by the gallantry of general Hamilton, who commanded the cavalry. Schomberg was killed in the action, which was bravely contested for some time, but was at last decided in favour of William. During the action, which was fought on the 1st of July, William distinguished himself by his intrepidity and vigilance, while James, on the contrary, kept himself a secure distance during the whole battle, a cold spectator of the contest for his crown. Before the battle his chief concern was to provide for his personal safety, and when he saw matters taking an unfavourable turn he was the first who fled, and hurried to Dublin, and from thence to Waterford, where he embarked on board a vessel ready to convey him to France, leaving his army to whatever fate the conqueror

might choose to inflict. Thus did James II. basely betray the people who had so valiantly struggled against all opposition in support of his family, and would, if he had supported them by his presence, have fought for him to the last. Well might the Irish exclaim — "Put not your trust in princes."

William was now left in the undisturbed possession of a large disposable force in the neighbourhood of Drogheda, which he summoned to surrender, and, after a time, to avoid the threat of William that he would treat the garrison as Cromwell had done, it did surrender. He then sent his force to the Shannon in pursuit of James's army, and proceeded himself to Dublin, instead of making that use of his victory which he might have done. He was everywhere enthusiastically received by the protestants, and by the catholics without opposition. Dr. Lealey draws a rather curious picture of the convenient loyalty of the Irish protestants, which we insert for the perusal of the reader. "Before the association in the north of Ireland, they prayed for king James. The beginning of March following they proclaimed the prince of Orange king, and prayed for him. The 15th day king James's army broke their forces at Dromore, in the north of Ireland, and reduced all but Derry and Enniskillen. Then they prayed again for king James, 'that God would strengthen him to vanquish and overcome all his enemies.' In August following Schomberg went over with an English army; then, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to pray the same prayer for king William; the rest of the protestants still praying for victory to king James and for the people; and yet they now tell us that all that while they meant the same thing: four times in one year praying forwards and backwards point black contradictory to one another!" We cannot blame the catholics for inconsistency at all events.

The French were at this time masters of the sea, and William marched along the coast, and made himself master of the forts of Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon. His affairs calling for his return to England, he left the army on the 27th of July, but on other considerations he returned to it again on the 8th of August, and proceeded against Limerick, where the greater part of James's army had taken shelter. After lying before the town for ten days,

William ordered an assault to be made, but he was repulsed with great loss; and he was ultimately forced to raise the siege on account of the rains, when he sailed for England, leaving the command of the army to count Solmes, who was soon after suspended in favour of general Ginckle.

The campaign did not end, though the season was far advanced. The then young earl of Marlborough, who was extremely desirous to signalise himself, pointed out to the English government the importance of Cork and Kinsale as harbours peculiarly adapted for France to pour in her succours, and engaged to reduce these towns, if the government would grant him 5,000 men, added to such forces as he might collect in Ireland. The proposal was accepted, and the embarkation was prepared, while William lay before Limerick. He arrived in Cork roads on the 21st of September, 1690, and completely effected his purpose within twenty-three days, to the great mortification of those who had represented the undertaking as impracticable. He returned to England on the 28th of October, and was received with feelings of national pride and glory, having accomplished within a month what all the foreign officers of William could not do in two campaigns; but William did justice to Marlborough, and declared that "he knew no man so fit for a general who had seen so few campaigns." We need scarcely add that this young earl became that duke of Marlborough whose valour shed such lustre on the English arms.

William was now anxious to terminate the war in Ireland, and gave orders to Ginckle accordingly; while some events took place which rendered this the more easy of accomplishment. The recreant monarch whose pusillanimity had caused him not only to abdicate the throne, but to desert his army while shedding their blood in his behalf, represented the cowardice of the Irish troops with such apparent sincerity to the king of France, that that monarch gave orders for the immediate recall of the French troops from Ireland. In the interim Athlone was taken by storm, and St. Ruth, who commanded the French army, fell back upon Aghrim, where he collected about 25,000 men, and determined upon risking all to a general engagement. St. Ruth manifested great military skill in his dispositions, and

for a time the Irish and French forces were successful; but the general himself was killed, which entirely changed the fortune of the day, and the English became the conquerors, but they disgraced their victory by cruelly pursuing the enemy for four miles without giving any quarter. General Sarsfield who succeeded St. Ruth in the command, being ignorant of his plans, found it impossible to rally his troops, and they therefore retired within the walls of Limerick.

General Ginckle, who commanded the English forces, considered it necessary to reduce Galway before besieging Limerick. The garrison of Galway consisted of seven regiments, but they expected reinforcements. In the expectations of these reinforcements, the governor, lord Dillon, returned a haughty defiance to the summons of Ginckle, and declared that he as well as his officers were determined upon defending the town. But the prudent and vigorous plans of Ginckle soon brought his lordship from his high horse, and in a few days the town capitulated; and the English commander, knowing William's anxiety for finishing the war in Ireland, granted such terms to Ireland as might convince the people of the absurdity of their perseverance, and bring them to an immediate submission. The garrison was, accordingly, allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick, with liberty to those who desired it to continue in the town or to repair to their respective habitations. The governor, magistrates, freemen, and inhabitants, were granted a free pardon, with full possession of their estates and liberties, under the acts of settlement and explanation; the catholic clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practise, and their estates gentlemen to bear arms. These terms were favourable in the extreme, and the capitulation of Galway was considered in England as the harbinger of the entire reduction of Ireland; but the generals employed upon the active service in that country were not quite so sanguine as those would-be soldiers who fight battles and besiege garrisons in their bed. Limerick was yet unreduced and numerous obstacles stood in the way of that achievement. Ginckle was not to be deterred by difficulties, however, and he made such preparations for conducting the siege of Limerick as he thought most likely to lead to success. He did succeed,

but his victory was purchased by great slaughter on both sides. When there was no longer any hope on the part of the Irish, they capitulated, and articles were entered into, which were considered sufficient to secure to the catholics all the liberty and protection they sought for. By this treaty the authority of the crown of England was established, and as its provisions form a conspicuous feature in the future periods of Irish history, our limits reluctantly compel us to omit it here, as it would at least fill twenty of our pages.

The Irish nation was now formally reduced to a state of dependence upon England, and such was the conclusion of a struggle on the part of Ireland in support of a king who professed her own religion, but in the hour of trial for his crown he basely deserted her. Lord Clare, in his speech on the Union, gives the following graphic statement of the events of this reign as they affected Ireland.

"After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were now once more defeated by the English army, and the slender relics of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688, amounted to 3,978, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of £211,623. comprising 1,000,792 acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expenses incurred by the English in reducing the rebels of 1688, and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers.

"It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are computed at 11,042,682 acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures :

| | |
|--|------------|
| In the reign of James I. the whole of the province | Acres. |
| of Ulster was confiscated, containing | 2,836,837 |
| Set out by the court of claims at the restoration, | 7,800,000 |
| Forfeitures of 1688, | 1,060,792 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 11,697,629 |

So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell, and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the revolution stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British Empire."

It is a remarkable fact, that England seems always to have been influenced in her policy towards Ireland by a spirit of hostility rather than of conciliation. No sincere endeavours have ever been made to win her affections by kindness; but one undeviating, one uniform system of coercion has been enforced with a view to humiliate and depress her. Neither the experience of years, nor the contemplation of the character of her people has ever been able to effect any change in this pernicious policy, and consequently wars and conflagrations, and famine, and confiscations, have been the only acts by which England, from the period of the first invasion under Henry to the revolution sought to establish her dominion. A fatal and cruel system, not called for by any conduct on the part of the oppressed and degraded natives of the country. It ought never to be forgotten by the advocates for coercion and tyranny, that the Irish catholics continued faithful to their sovereign while his English subjects rose in rebellion against him. Not all the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the four Stuarts, who occupied the English throne, could drive the Irish catholic from his allegiance to his sovereign. True it is he frequently rebelled, but it was against those delegates who seem to have been selected for the situation from the possession of every quality which could make them odious, and mischievous. It therefore seems wonderful how a succession of sovereigns could be so far unmindful of their own interests as to forego the cordial services and

warm attachments of a faithful and loyal nation. The Irish are a peculiar people ; they have strong and ardent feelings, with resentments as quick as the impulses which lead them to be generous, high-minded, and faithful. Properly governed they would be the firmest prop of the British empire. An author of eminence who knows the Irish people well, and who knows how they have been misunderstood, has presented to the world the following interesting portrait.

“ Whenever England wishes to be truly acquainted with the natural character, the real state, and the abundant resources of the Irish people, she should first explore the channels through which she has heretofore derived her important information ; she should seriously reflect whether such representations have yet tended to promote those measures best calculated to attach, either to her interest or even to their own, a brave, a generous, but a jealous nation ; or whether she has been led to pursue a narrow and crooked policy, utterly unadapted to either of those important purposes. England should also especially consider how far representations transmitted from Ireland to her cabinet, have in general proved, by their results, to have been perfectly correct, or eventually judicious. Such representations must, from their nature, be frequently defective. It is not through the temporary and fugitive intercourse of British viceroys that Irish character can be accurately learned or duly appreciated. Limited as must necessarily be the intercourse of men in high stations with the population of a country, the advantages of even that limited intercourse are frequently rendered still more contracted by the address of official dependents, as it were willing to their governors, and raising to themselves a fictitious importance by applying appropriate representations, and acquiring exclusive audience—a system not difficult to be established since Ireland has ceased to enjoy the power of open investigation in her own parliament. Official knowledge of Irish character, therefore, becomes confined, as general intercourse is restricted : and from the convivialities of a corporation banquet, the adulatory addresses of a village, or the sumptuous entertainment of a speculating nobleman, is generally collected the whole fund of information acquired through the

progress of viceregal excursions. Yet all official representations are of course considered by British ministers to be absolutely orthodox, while those of the wisest personages of Ireland, if opposed to, or even unconnected with, the objects of the existing administration of Great Britain, too often meet with a cold if not a supercilious reception.

"If Great Britain should seek for an insight into Irish character through the talents and the conduct of the representatives of Ireland embodied in the imperial parliament, and, as public men, proper subjects of observation and criticism, she would equally fail to attain that knowledge. The natural character of a people appears, with all its bearings, only within their own country. The qualities are always superficially affected by the habits of a new society; and their most pointed and marked peculiarities, new modelled by foreign intercourse, cease to represent the true character of the people, and deceive the observer by a fallacious surface. The general failure of the most eloquent men of Ireland, when removed into the British senate, strongly exemplifies that observation: introduced into an assembly more awful, but to them far less interesting, than their own parliament, they become mingled with strangers, whose manners were less open, and whose minds less ardent and fruitful, but more suspicious and reserved. Undervaluing the language of eloquence, as unadapted to the compass of common, plain, direct conception, the Irish member became almost ashamed of his talent; elocution appeared bombastic; a social instinct imperceptibly drew down the Irish orator to the British level; and without being able to acquire a new character, he frequently lost the finest features of his own. Many singular examples have proved this theory: men of superior talents have become cold: those of inferior abilities are become silent; but suppose in themselves an inferiority which does not really exist; and both feel a want of confidence uncongenial to their nature. When genuine Irish character, therefore, is sought for, but little of its energy can be discovered, and few of its qualities distinguished, in the language, the manner, the inactivity, of the Irish representatives; and if an Irishman becomes a British minister, or an officer of the government, the knowledge of character through him is removed to a still greater distance. It

would be doing a flagrant act of injustice to any country to determine the national character of its people by the public conduct of its ministers.

"The only criterion by which the character of the Irish can be justly ascertained is a minute and impartial survey of their collective demeanour throughout all the windings of difficult times and embarrassing situations, and a diligent comparison of the theory founded on that general observation, with acts of public conduct, and private anecdotes of individual intercourse. It is impossible, however, to determine on one character for all ranks of society in any country: the influence of high education generally disguises many of the natural qualities of the human mind, so as to bring a great proportion of the well educated people of all nations to nearly one common level, or one class of society; but from that number, comparatively so small, we cannot draw a general character for the aggregate population of the country.

"To attain a just conception of the remote causes of two great and repugnant revolutions in Ireland within eighteen years, we must, with deep and accurate research, investigate that general character; we must view the ranks of which society is then composed, as well as their proportions, and their influence on each other; and in the peculiarities and ardency of that character will be clearly discovered the true sources of many extraordinary events; it will evidently appear, that to the foibles of that unfortunate nation, worked upon by art, and imposed upon by policy—and not to native crimes or peculiar views—are attributable the frequency of her miseries and the consummation of her misfortune.

"The Irish people have been as little known as they have been grossly defamed to the rest of Europe; nor is it from what they have done, but from the means from which they have been seduced or goaded to it, that an impartial world will judge of their intellect, or appreciate the value or the disposition of their country.

"The monstrous and incredible fictions of ignorant and foreign authors have, from the earliest ages been employed to excite the contempt of the English nation towards the Irish people. The lengths to which the English writers have proceeded in pursuit of this object would surpass all

belief were not the facts proved by histories written under the immediate eye and sanction of Irish governments—histories replete with falsehood, which, combined with the still more mischievous misrepresentations of modern writers form altogether a mass of the most cruel calumnies that ever weighed down the character of a meritorious people.

"This system, however, was not without its meaning. From the reign of Elizabeth the policy of England has been to keep Ireland in a state of internal division; perfect unanimity among her inhabitants has been falsely considered as likely to give her a population and a power almost incompatible with subjection; and there are not wanting natives of Ireland, who impressed with that erroneous idea, zealously plunge into the same doctrine, as if they could best prove their loyalty to the king by villifying their country. Not only the distinct classes of society, but also the inhabitants of the several provinces of Ireland, were distinguished from each other by different characteristic qualities. Leinster, the pale of the ancient English settlers; Connaught, the retreat of the aboriginal Irish; Munster, the general abode of Irish and of foreigners; and Ulster, the residence of Scottish colonists, were inhabited by people nearly as distinct from each other in natural disposition as the sources whence they respectively derived their origin.

"The class of wealthy industrious yeomanry, which has contributed to form so largely the independent manner and character of the English pale, was much too scantily interspersed throughout the other parts of Ireland: there the ranks of society were more distinct, and the links of their connexion wider and more distant; the higher classes were too proud, and the lower too humble, to admit the possibility of an intimate association without the interposition of unforeseen occurrences.

"The Irish peasantry, who necessarily composed the great body of the population, combined in their character many of those singular and repugnant qualities which peculiarly designate the people of different nations; and this remarkable contrariety of characteristic traits pervaded almost the whole current of their natural dispositions. Laborious, yet lazy—domestic, yet dissipated—accustomed to wants in the midst of plenty—they submit to hardships without repining, and bear the severest privations with

stoic fortitude. The sharpest wit, and the shrewdest subtilty, which abound in the character of the Irish peasant, generally lie concealed under the semblance of dulness or the appearance of simplicity; and his language, replete with the keenest humour, possesses an idiom of equivocation which never fails successfully to evade a direct answer to an unwelcome question.

"Inquisitive, artful, and penetrating, the Irish peasant learns mankind without extensive intercourse, and has an instinctive knowledge of the world without mingling in its societies: and never, in any other instance, did there exist an illiterate and uncultivated people who could display so much address and so much talent in the ordinary transactions of life as the Irish peasantry.

"Too hasty or too dilatory in the execution of their projects, they are sometimes frustrated by their impatience and impetuosity; at other times they fail through their indolence and procrastination; and without possessing the extreme vivacity of the French, or the cool phlegm of the English character, they feel all the inconvenience of the one, and experience the disadvantages of the other.

"In his anger, furious without revenge, and violent without animosity—turbulent and fantastic in his dissipation—ebriety discloses the utmost recesses of the Irish peasant's character. His temper irascible, but good natured—his mind coarse and vulgar, yet sympathetic and susceptible of every impression—he yields too suddenly to the paroxysms of momentary impulse, or the seduction of pernicious example; and an implicit confidence in the advice of a false friend, or the influence of an artful superior, not unfrequently leads him to perpetrate the enormities of vice, while he believes he is performing the exploits of virtue.

"The Irish peasant has, at all periods, been peculiarly distinguished for unbounded but indiscriminate hospitality, which, though naturally devoted to the necessities of a friend, is never denied by him even to the distresses of an enemy. To be in want or in misery is the best recommendation to his disinterested protection; his food, his bed, his raiment, are equally the stranger's and his own; and the deeper the distress, the more welcome is the sufferer to the peasant's cottage.

" His attachments to his kindred and his connexions are of the strongest nature. The social duties are intimately blended with the natural uncorrupted disposition of an Irish peasant; and though covered with rags, oppressed with poverty, and perhaps with hunger, the finest specimens of generosity and heroism are to be found in his singular but unequalled character.

" A martial spirit and a love of desultory warfare is indigenous to the Irish people. Battle is their pastime: whole parishes and districts form themselves into parties, which they denominate factions; they meet, by appointment, at their country fairs; there they quarrel without a cause, and fight without an object; and having indulged their propensity, and bound up their wounds, they return satisfied to their own homes generally without anger, and frequently in perfect friendship with each other. It is a melancholy reflection that the successive governments of Ireland should have been so long and so obstinately blind to the real interests of the country, as to conceive it more expedient to attempt the fruitless task of suppressing the national spirit by legal severity, than to adopt a system of national instruction and general industry, which, by affording employment to their faculties, might give to the minds of the people a proper tendency and a useful and peaceable direction.

" In general the Irish are impetuously brave than steadily persevering; their onsets are furious, and their retreats precipitate; but even death has for them no terrors when they firmly believe that their cause is meritorious. Though exquisitely artful in the stratagems of warfare, yet, actually in battle, their discretion vanishes before their impetuosity; and, the most gregarious people under heaven, they rush forward in a crowd with tumultuous ardour, and without foresight or reflection whether they are advancing to destruction or to victory.

" An enthusiastic attachment to the place of their nativity is another striking trait of the Irish character, which neither time nor absence, prosperity nor adversity, can obliterate or diminish. Wherever an Irish peasant is born, there he wishes to die; and, however successful in acquiring wealth or rank in distant places, he returns with

fond affection to renew his intercourse with the friends and companions of his youth and his obscurity.

"Illiterate and ignorant as the Irish peasantry are, they cannot be expected to understand the complicated theory and fundamental principles of civil government, and therefore are too easily imposed upon by the fallacious reasoning of insinuating agitators; but their natural political disposition is evidently aristocratic. From the traditionary history of their ancient kings their minds early imbibe a warm love of monarchy; while their courteous, civil, and humble demeanour to the higher orders of society proves their ready deference to rank, and their voluntary submission to superiority; and when the rough and independent, if not insolent, address of the English farmer to his superiors is compared with the native humble courtesy of the Irish peasant, it would be the highest injustice to charge the latter with a natural disposition to democracy.

"An innate spirit of insubordination to the laws has been strongly charged upon the Irish peasantry; but an illiterate people—to whom the punishment of crimes appears rather as a sacrifice to revenge than a measure of prevention—can never have the same deference to the law as those who are instructed in the principles of justice, and taught to recognise its equality. It has, however, been uniformly admitted by every impartial writer on the affairs of Ireland, that a spirit of strict justice has ever characterised the Irish peasant. Convince him by plain and impartial reasoning that he is wrong, and he generally withdraws from the judgment seat, if not with cheerfulness, at least with submission; but to make him respect the laws he must be satisfied that they are impartial, and with that conviction on his mind, the Irish peasant is as perfectly tractable as the native of any other country in the world.

"An attachment to, and a respect for, females is another marked characteristic of the Irish peasant. The wife partakes of all her husband's vicissitudes, and accompanies him upon all occasions, they are almost inseparable. She watches over him in his dissipation: she shares his labour and his miseries, with constancy and with affection. At all the sports and meetings of the Irish peasantry the women are always of the company: they have a great influence; and in his smoky cottage the Irish peasant,

surrounded by his family, seems to forget all his privations. The natural cheerfulness of his disposition banishes reflection, and he experiences a simple happiness which even the highest ranks of society might justly envy.

"The miscellaneous qualities of the Irish character are marked and various :—peculiarly polite—passionately fond of noise and merriment—superstitious—bigotted—they are always in extremes ; and as Giraldus Cambrensis described them in the twelfth century, so they still continue : 'If an Irishman be a good man, there is no better ; if he be a bad man, there is no worse.'

"In his person the Irish peasant is strong, active, hardy, and extremely swift. The finest men in Ireland are the descendants of the Spaniards, who, after so many centuries, are still distinguishable by their fine oval countenances, their large black eyes, their noble mein, and manly features :—the descendants of the Danes are red-haired and hard featured, but remarkably hardy, though less active :—the offspring of the Scots are very similar, though in many respects inferior to their kindred race in Scotland :—and those descended from the English settlers are the least remarkable of any Irishmen for any singularity of person or of character.

"Possessed of these qualities, and suffering under these humiliating depressions, the Irish peasant in 1780, was found uncultivated, ignorant, and wretched, but gifted, capable, and generous ; and it was reserved for that celebrated period to introduce to the notice of Europe that calumniated people, and develope to general view those qualities which in other times would probably have been entirely overlooked, or certainly under-rated.

"These were the intellectual qualities which capricious nature had distributed, in varied and unequal proportions, among the inhabitants of this extraordinary island. Their fertile dispositions, adapted to the cultivation of almost every passion, produced individual characters of the greatest variety, diversified by gradations of the rank, and influenced by the extent of their education.

"The middle class of gentry, interspersed throughout the country parts of the kingdom, possessed as much of the peasant character as accorded with more liberal minds and superior society. With less necessity for exertion than

the peasant, and an equal inclination for the indulgence of indolence, their habits were altogether devoid of industry, and adverse to reflection :—the morning chase and evening conviviality composed the diary of their lives, cherished the thoughtlessness of their nature, and banished the cares and solitudes of foresight. They uniformly lived beyond their means, and aspired beyond their resources ; pecuniary embarrassment only gave a new zest to the dissipation which created it ; and the gentry of Ireland at this period, had more troubles and fewer cares than any gentry in the universe.

“ These habits, however, while they contracted the distance between the lower and superior order, had also the effect of promoting their natural good-will and attachment to each other. The peasant looked up to and admired, in the country gentleman, those propensities which he himself possessed :—actuated by a native sympathy of disposition, he loved old customs ; he liked to follow the track and example of his forefathers, and adhered to the fortunes of some ancient family with a zealous sincerity ; and in every matter of party or faction, he obeyed the orders of his landlord, and even anticipated his wishes, with cheerfulness and humility.

“ Thus the Irish country gentleman, without either the ties of blood or the weight of feudal authority, found himself surrounded by followers and adherents ever ready to adopt his cause and risk their lives for his purposes, with as warm devotion as those of the Scottish laird or the highland chieftain ; and this disposition, cultivated by family pride on the one side, and confirmed by immemorial habit on the other, greatly promoted the formation, the progress, and the zeal of those armed associations, which soon afterward covered the face of the country, and for a moment placed the name of Ireland on the very highest pinnacle of effective patriotism.

“ It was the fashion of those days to cast upon the Irish gentry an imputation, which though they by no means generally deserved, yet it would be uncandid not to admit that there were some partial grounds for the observation—that they showed a disposition to decide petty differences by the sword, and too fastidious a construction of what they termed ‘ the point of honour.’ This practice certainly

continued to prevail in many parts of Ireland, where time and general intercourse had not yet succeeded in extinguishing altogether the romantic but honourable spirit of Milesian chivalry; and when we reflect on the natural warlike disposition of the people—that indigenous impetuosity and love of battle which so eminently distinguished their aboriginal character—it is not surprising that hasty and unnecessary encounters should occasionally occur among a people perpetually actuated by the pride of ancestry and the theories of honour. But even in these contests, the Irish gentleman forgave his adversary with as much readiness as he fought him: he respected the courage which aimed at his own life; and the strongest friendship were sometimes formed, and frequently regenerated, on the field of battle. It is natural to suppose that this practice should have been noticed, and perhaps exaggerated by the English people, whose long enjoyment of police and of industry had endowed them with less punctilious and much more discreet propensities.

“The cowardly crime of suicide, however, which prevailed and prevails so extensively throughout England, was almost unknown among the Irish gentry. Circumstances which would plunge an Englishman into a state of mortal despondency would only rouse the energies of an Irishman to bound over his misfortunes: under every pressure, in every station, in every climate, a lightness of heart and openness of disposition distinguishes him from the inhabitants of every other country.

“A circumstance, not unfrequently injurious to the concerns of Ireland, was that influence which the imposing condescensions of superior rank, and the flattering professions of power and of interest, occasionally acquired over the natural independence of the Irish gentry. This partial imbecility of mind was but too well ascertained, and often too successfully practised upon, for the political purposes of artful governments; and on that interesting occasion, when every weapon which the ingenuity of man could invent, was used to impose the Union on a reluctant people, it will be seen that Ireland lost the active exertions of many a zealous friend, through the insidious blandishments of a noble visitor.

“But this paralyzing weakness was far from being uni-

versal : numerous instances will occur in the course of this memoir, where the public and individual spirit and integrity of the Irish gentry were tried to their full extent, and proved to be invincible : the reader will see exhibited frequent examples of patriotism too precious to be forgotten, and which it would be ungrateful to the individual, and injustice to the country, not to distinguish and commemorate.

"On the whole of their characters, the Irish gentry, though far from being faultless, had many noble qualities : generous, hospitable, friendly, brave, but careless, prodigal, and indiscreet, they possessed the materials of distinguished men with the propensities of obscure ones ; and by their openness and sincerity, too frequently became the dupes of artifice, and the victims of dissimulation.

"Among the highest orders of the Irish people the distinguishing features of national character had been long wearing away, and becoming less prominent and remarkable. The manners of the nobility, in almost every European country, verge to one common centre : by the similarity of their education and society they acquire similar habits, and a constant intercourse with courts, clothes, their address and language, as it does their persons in one peculiar garb—disguising the strong points, and concealing the native traits, of their original characters.

"In Ireland the nobility were then in number comparatively few ; the policy which the British minister soon afterward so liberally adopted, of diminishing the weight and resistance of the commons by removing their leaders into the lords, had not yet been extensively practised in Ireland."

This is the character of the Irish people, drawn by the pen of one who has studied them attentively, and who has viewed their peculiarities in reference to the political institutions of the country itself ; and which we trust will not be considered irrelevant in this place.

CHAPTER VI.

Reign of William. Lord Sydney as lord-lieutenant. Penal statutes against the catholics. Tolerant disposition of William thwarted. Attempts of the English government to legislate for Ireland. Resisted. Dissenters excluded from offices under the crown. Ministerial artifice. Indisposition of queen Anne to the protestant succession. Her death.

THE Revolution of 1688, which was so beneficial to England, produced but little advantage to Ireland. That liberty which we acquired for ourselves, we refused to communicate to the sister kingdom; and while England enjoyed political and civil freedom, she continued, with all the insolence of conquests, to tighten the fetters which had so long bound Ireland. It is true that the Irish catholics had fought against that liberty which the Revolution was intended to confirm; and the devoted zeal with which they endeavoured to uphold the cause of James, was not the most effectual means of securing the favour of the whig party in England; who legislated for Ireland rather in the spirit of subjection than of conciliation. Burke took a philosophical view of this period of Irish history when he addressed his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, in which he says,

“ By the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure too, the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaints of the natives

would be heard on this side of the water with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purpose so well must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time in England the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious) shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon to be enemies to God and man; and indeed, as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

There can be little doubt that the existing prejudices operated in the production of measures injurious to Ireland. The first instance that presents itself is the open violation of the articles of Limerick; for in little more than two months after their signature, the lords justices and general Ginckle showed a determination to render those articles as little beneficial as possible. Harris, in his *Life of King William*, says "The justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties government."

The next step tending to alienate the affections and to provoke the resentment of the Irish protestants as well as catholics, was the interference of the English legislature to enact laws for Ireland. Before any Irish parliament was assembled, the English parliament, in 1691, passed an act to alter the laws of Ireland. This act was entitled "An Act for abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other Oaths," which oaths were of such nature that they accomplished the exclusion of catholics from the Irish parliament. That William's own tolerant disposition was controlled by his parliament in the passing of this act may be fairly inferred from a well attested historical fact. When William was anxious to conclude the war in Ireland that he might be able to apply the military force there to

his continental views, he instructed the lords commissioners to issue a proclamation, offering the following conditions to the catholics. 1. The free exercise of their religion. 2. Half the churches of the kingdom. 3. Half the employments civil and military, if they pleased. 4. The moiety of their ancient properties. This proclamation was actually printed, but the decisive battle of Aghrim gave fresh hopes to the lords justices, and they withheld the publication of it. The subsequent events at Limerick rendered its employment unnecessary, and it was destroyed; not so effectually, however, as to prevent the knowledge of the transaction coming down to posterity, affording at least one instance that William was not by disposition intolerant, though his parliament and ministers were.

Lord Sydney, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant, at length, in 1692, convened a parliament in Ireland, as supplies were necessary, and the English government dared not be quite so arbitrary as to tax the Irish by its own acts. They originated two money bills, however, and transmitted them to the Irish commons, who had virtue enough to mark their resentment at this unconstitutional proceeding by totally rejecting one, and passing the other only on account of the urgency of the case. At the same time they entered on their journals their reason for rejecting the one bill, "because it had not originated in the house of commons;" and in passing the other, they declared "that it was and is the sole and undoubted right of the commons to prepare heads of bills for raising money." These proceedings did not at all please Sydney, and he prorogued the parliament in November, reproaching them with having undutifully and ungratefully invaded the royal prerogative. The parliament wished to send commissioners to their majesties to explain their conduct, and were superciliously told by the lord-lieutenant "that they might go to England to beg their majesties pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." Lord Sydney protested against their claim of right to originate money bills, and procured the opinion of the judges in his favour, who pronounced the conduct of the commons in this case a breach of Poyning's law. The parliament was ultimately dissolved to the great disappointment of the public; and the odious arrogance of lord Sydney rendered him so unpopular that

he was recalled; the recent wounds being still fresh the English government did not venture to provoke them anew by forcing upon them a lord-lieutenant who was so cordially detested by all classes.

Three lords justices were appointed, viz. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe; but they were not unanimous. Lord Capel was resolved to support the evasion of the articles of Limerick, while the others were equally zealous for their observance, acting upon the broad basis of public faith: the consequence was that they were removed from any share in the government, and Capel was appointed lord-deputy.

Capel convened a parliament in 1695, which enacted several penal statutes against the catholics, in direct violation of the articles of Limerick: among which were—An act to restrain foreign education: an act for the better securing the government by disarming papists: an act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy out of the kingdom; an act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists; and an act to prevent papists being solicitors. This parliament annulled the parliamentary proceedings under the authority of James; the act of settlement was explained and confirmed; and the articles of Limerick so modified as to lessen the security to the persons concerned. The chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, who advocated the execution of the agreement with the catholics, was assailed by a party under the influence of Capel, who basely accused him of designs hostile to the government. In support of this accusation a charge was made in the house of commons; but he was most honourably acquitted on being heard in his own defence. Mr. Mollyneux, one of the members for Dublin University, likewise disputed the authority of England to bind Ireland by her own acts, and thus reduce her to a state of actual servitude, and boldly asserted the rights of his native country, maintaining that her independence was as fully established as that of England herself. He published "The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated;" in which he carried his researches into the early periods of Irish history, with a view to ascertain by what compact she was held in her allegiance to England. He did not

deny that allegiance, but he distinctly asserted the perfect independence of both countries. This celebrated work alarmed the English parliament, and they appointed a committee to examine it and report what particular passages most tended to deny the authority of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland. The committee reported accordingly, alleging as one of the causes which might have occasioned the pamphlet, the fact of the Irish parliament re-enacting a bill which had passed in England respecting the abrogation of the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and which re-enactment, with some few alterations, they considered as a distinct assumption of independence on the part of the Irish parliament. An address was immediately voted to his majesty, which was presented by the whole house, June 30th, 1698, in which they expressed their indignation at the tenets contained in Mr. Molyneux's book, and beseeched his majesty "to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm, and that he would be graciously pleased to take all necessary care that the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded, but strictly observed," and concluded with hoping that his majesty "would be pleased to discourage all things which may in any degree tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England." To this address William briefly replied, that he would take care to prevent what was complained of.

The English parliament resolved likewise to cripple Ireland in every measure that might tend to give her vigour, or rivalry with England; and they presented another address to William, complaining of the advances made by Ireland in her woollen manufactures, to the great endangering of that staple commodity in England, and to the neglect of her own linen manufacture; "the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England;" and they intreated his majesty to adopt some effective measures to prevent Ireland from exporting wool, and to induce her to cultivate her linen trade.

The English ministers were willing to co-operate with the parliament in every measure that could repress the spirit of Ireland; and a law was passed prohibiting the

[illegible]

"If the woolen manufacture of the Irish, if carried to the utmost pitch of profit, could never have injured the English, since, from well known circumstances, the greater part of the advantage would have accrued to the latter. The immediate effect of the prohibitory laws was poverty and

distress to the Irish, especially in the south. From the establishment of the acts of settlement and explanation, their country had rapidly increased in wealth and improvement, to the admiration and envy of her neighbours, till it was again laid waste by the revolutionary wars under William III. and even from this calamity it was recovering with such quickness that in 1698 the balance of trade in its favour amounted to between four and five hundred thousand pounds. But the effects were permanent of the restricting laws, insurmountable by the fertility of the soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, a situation very advantageous for commerce, navigable rivers, and a multitude of harbours. Human affairs, however, are so contrived by Providence, that the effects of injustice revert to its authors. Deprived of the means of subsistence at home, thousands of Irish manufacturers emigrated to France and other countries, where they assisted the inhabitants in the augmentation of the quantity, and improvement of the quality, of their woollen cloths, and established correspondents by which vast quantities of Irish wool, whose exportation, except to England, was prohibited, were carried clandestinely to these countries. Thus the foreign demand for English cloth was prodigiously more lessened, than it could ever have been by any exertions of Irish industry at home; the French were enabled not only to supply their own demands, but even to undersell the English in the market of other nations: and thus for every thousand pounds of profit which Ireland might have acquired by a participation with England in this trade, the latter has lost ten thousand."

There is no part of Irish history that has more frequently been referred to in proof of the tyranny and injustice of England, than her conduct with respect to the woollen manufactures of Ireland, and as those prohibitory statutes compelled the Irish nation to cultivate with all its means, the only staple that was left, namely, the linen trade, which still continues to be her chief commodity, the following account of its rise and progress in this country (especially in Ulster) by Dr. Stevenson, deserves a place here. He says,

"The manufacture of linen is said to have been carried on at a very early period by the Phœnicians, particularly

by the inhabitants of Bethsan, a colony of Scythians, thence called Scythopolis by the Greeks. About 1400 years before the christian era, they introduced their letters, arts, and manufactures into Greece; and afterwards planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, whence, according to the Irish historians, they passed into Ireland, and imported into that country among other useful inventions, the spindle and the loom.

“If it be objected to this, that there is no single word in the Irish language that signifies a loom, it may be replied that the same may be said of all the western languages. Thus in English, loom signified any machine, but was afterwards appropriated to the weaver’s frame. In like manner a loom in Irish is *beart-shighaidh* the weaver’s frame or engine.

“Dr. Johnson has not the substantive sley. The verb, according to him, signifies to part, or twist into threads. For further explanation he refers us to *aleave*, a word, of which he candidly confesses that he knows not well the meaning. The sley is the reed, the comb or pecten, and the sleys or sley-boards, the frame in which it is fixed: and the original of this word Dr. Johnson might have learned in the western isles, where *sleighe* signifies a way, and when applied to a loom, the way through which the yarn must pass before weaving. A sliver of wool is a *skain* or lock which has passed through the sley.

“The shuttle is often confounded with the sley, although both their derivation and office are widely different. Scut is a boat, and nothing can resemble a boat, cut out of a single tree, more than the ancient shuttle of this kingdom. Those who admit that these words are derived from the Pœnician, will consider them as presumptive evidence, that the Irish were acquainted with these implements from the most remote antiquity.

“The act of Henry VIII. against grey merchants fore-stalling, proves that linen yarn was a very considerable article of commerce at that time in Ireland. In the reign of Elizabeth, this act was revived, with an additional clause, prohibiting the watering of flax and hemp in rivers. In another act, passed in the thirteenth year of the same reign, against the exportation of wool, flax, and linen, and woollen yarn, it is recited that the merchants of Ireland had been

exporters of these articles for upwards of one hundred years before that period. In 1599, Fynes Morrison, secretary to lord Mountjoy, observes that Ireland yields much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarn, and export in great quantities. There is still extant, an act of parliament restricting the higher orders from wearing an extravagant quantity of linen in their shirts. In the reign of Charles I. lord Strafford adopted the most effectual measures for the encouragement of the linen manufacture: and in 1678 Sir William Temple asserts, that if the spinning of flax were encouraged, we should soon beat both the French and the Dutch out of the English market. In that year, England imported from France, linen to the amount of £507,250. 4s. including 2820 pair of old sheets.

"In 1678, the absurdity of this traffic became so evident that it was prohibited. But in 1685, James II. was so much in the French interest, that he obtained a repeal of the prohibitory act. At the revolution, however, the importation of French linen was declared a common nuisance in the parliament of the three kingdoms, and finally suppressed. In 1698, the woollen manufacture had taken such deep root in Ireland as to excite the jealousy of the English to such a degree, that both houses of parliament addressed king William on the subject, beseeching him to take effectual measures to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and promising, in this case, every encouragement to the manufacture of linen. This stipulation was announced to the Irish parliament by the lords justices in their speech from the throne. The two houses readily acquiesced, and this transaction has ever since been considered by the Irish as a solemn compact between the two nations.

"In consequence of an act of the ninth of Anne, a board of trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures was established: and on the 6th of October, 1711, the duke of Ormond nominated an equal number of trustees for each province.

"This is justly considered as an event of great importance in the history of the linen trade, but was preceded by one perhaps of equal consequence, the emigration of Hugonots from France, on account of the revocation of the edicts of Nantz in 1685. Many of these refugees who had car-

ried on the linen manufacture in France, were attracted to these kingdoms by their attachment to king William, and encouraged to settle in Ireland by the measures that had been taken in favour of the linen trade. Among these was Mr. Lewis Cromelin, who obtained a patent for carrying on and improving the linen manufacture, accompanied with a grant of £800. per annum as interest of £10,000. to be advanced by him, or by his procurement, as a stock for carrying on the same; £200. per annum for his pains and care in carrying on the said work; £100. per annum for three assistants, and £60. per annum for the support of a French minister. This patent was renewed by queen Anne: but in 1716, on the appointment of itinerants in each province, the three assistants were struck off. In consequence of this patent, Mr. Cromelin settled in Lisburn. He was a native of Quintin, where his ancestors had carried on the manufacture of linen with great success, for many generations. In 1705 he published a book, in which he successfully combated the prejudices that prevailed against the culture of flax, and the manufacture of linen. It consisted of six chapters on the following subjects: 1. Preparing ground, sowing, weeding, pulling, watering, and grassing flax; 2. Dressing flax; 3. Hemp; 4. Spinning and spinning wheels; 5. Preparing yarn and looms; 6. Bleaching utensils and bleaching.

“Most of our flax seed is imported from Riga, the low countries, and America. The farmers who are accustomed to sow Riga, especially if they intend to preserve the seed, prefer it, because it produces the greatest quantity. Although the casks in which it is exported are new, they are often badly finished, and the seed sometimes damaged, and often too long kept. Memel seed has been imported, it produces short flax, and is now generally despised.

“The Dutch is a large dark coloured seed, some grains of it are nearly black, and flat, and shrivelled like unripe seed hastily dried, yet it sells as high as Riga seed, and higher than American. It cannot be safely kept through the winter, so as to be sown the following spring. The old, close, damp wine hogsheads in which it is exported, were supposed to be the cause of this evil. The American casks are made of new, dry, well seasoned oak, and readily admit air. Our merchants believing this theory well

founded, changed it from Dutch into American casks, and stored it on well-aired dry lofts, without any good effect. Probably the damp air of the low countries, and unripe seed, are the causes.

“The American seed is smaller and rounder than the Dutch, the colour lighter, the skin smoother. The preference of the Dutch seed is contrary to our experience of the advantage of changing the seed of grain to a soil different from that in which it was produced. The soil of America differs more from the soil of Ireland than the soil of the low countries, yet the Dutch seed is preferred to the American, from a supposition that it produces larger and longer stalks, and a greater quantity of flax.

“The annual average sale of flax seed in Belfast, 5000 hogsheads; in Newry, 9000; in Londonderry, 11,000; amounting to 25,000 hogsheads. The importations annually exceed the sales by several thousand hogsheads.”

Here follow a comparison of the prices of Dutch and American seeds; as also an abstract of the legislative proceedings which were adopted in the reign of king William, with a view to destroy the woollen manufacture of Ireland, which we formerly noticed. We will here insert an extract of the speech of the lords justices to the Irish parliament, September 27th, 1698, in reference to this question.

“Amongst these bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures; at our first meeting we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose; whereas, the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.”

“To this speech from the throne the commons of Ireland returned the following answer:—

“We pray leave to assure your excellencies that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manu-

facture here, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom; and that we hope to find such a temperament and respect to the woollen trade here that the same may not be injurious to England."

Dr. Stevenson then goes on to say. "And they passed a law that session, commencing the 25th of March, 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broad cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. value of serges, baizes, kerseys, stuffs, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or mixed with wool (friezes only excepted) which was in effect a prohibition. And in the same session a law was passed in England, restraining Ireland from exporting those woollen manufactures, including frieze, to any other parts except England and Wales.

"Common sense tells us, they did thus under a perfect conviction, that they should receive ample encouragement from England in their linen trade: but what moonshine would such encouragement prove, if England, departing from the letter and spirit of that compact and encouraged her own linen manufacture to rival the Irish, after the Irish had destroyed their woollen fabrics to encourage those of England? Yet they did this in direct breach of the whole transaction for the 23rd of George II, laid a tax on sail-cloth made of Irish hemp. Bounties also having being given in England without extending fully to Irish linens. Checked, striped, printed, painted, stained, or dyed linens of Irish manufacture, are not allowed to be imported into Britain. In which, and in other articles, they have done every thing possible to extend and increase their own linen manufacture to rival that of Ireland."

While we condemn the tyrannical proceedings of the English parliament at this period, we must in justice exempt William from a great part of our censure. He really had not the power of controlling the parties that then agitated the country; and having succeeded to the English throne by parliamentary influence, it is not to be expected that he should exert his authority to oppose the acts of that parliament. He was overruled by that power which it would have been madness in him to contend with. In no instance was this predominance of the parliament more conspicuous than its proceedings regarding the resumption of Irish forfeitures.

William had rewarded many of his adherents, by granting them large possessions in Ireland from the forfeited estates of those who had supported James. But the English parliament, with the intention of making the king feel his dependance upon themselves, passed an act for the resumption of those grants, upon the plea that William had stipulated that the Irish forfeitures should be sold for the public use, and to help in defraying the expenses of the war.

The consequence of this act was the appointment of seven commissioners to inquire into the value of the forfeited lands, and the reason of their alienation from the public. Three of these commissioners were in the interest of the crown, and the other four were attached to the parliament, whose report was accordingly favourable; and a bill for the resumption of the granted lands, as public property, passed the lower house, and afterwards though with considerable difficulty, the upper. The royal assent was given to it by the king with undissembled dissatisfaction. William died soon after this (1702) in consequence of a fall from his horse, which fractured his collar-bone. He was in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Queen Anne, the daughter of James II. wife of the prince of Denmark, now succeeded to the throne of England. Allied to that family in whose defence the Irish catholics suffered so severely, they naturally expected, that if she did not mitigate the severities of her predecessors, she would at least refrain from increasing their afflictions. But whatever may have been her own feelings, she, like William, was under the entire control of the parliament. There was yet another cause which operated powerfully on the English parliament to disable the Irish catholics by penal statutes. Though James II. was dead, his son was living, and it was well known that he entertained hopes of succeeding to the throne of his father; and the English legislature could not be unmindful of the disposition of Ireland to assist the family of the Stuarts. Edmund Burke, speaking of the penal code enacted during this reign, says in his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, "You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection. For I must do it justice. It was a complete system, full of coherence

and consistency : well digested, and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

The first step was the "Act for preventing the further growth of Popery," in which new severities were enacted against the catholics; nor was there one man in either house who stood up in their defence. The ministers were afraid to reject this bill of the Irish parliament, as it was supported by many dissenters of great political weight; but they tacked to it a provision which enacted, that no person in Ireland should be eligible to fill any place under the crown, or to accept any corporate magistracy, who did not receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of Ireland. This, as it excluded many of the promoters of the bill from places of trust and profit as effectually as the catholics, it was thought would render the whole bill unexceptionable; but the dissenters, expecting that this clause would speedily be repealed, made no opposition, and the bill passed into a law. The dissenters were grievously disappointed and vainly tried to get this obnoxious clause repealed, and it was often acted upon with great severity.

The duke of Ormond, (grandson of that duke of Ormond whose perfidious conduct has been detailed) was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1704. He seemed to inherit all his ancestor's prejudices against the catholics, and was chiefly instrumental in giving efficacy to the bill for preventing the further growth of popery, for which he received the thanks of the Irish parliament. A few years after, however, he was convicted of high treason, and a reward of £10,000. put upon his head, for having deserted his protestant sovereign, and adhered to a *popish* pretender. It would puzzle a conjuror to explain how this man should veer about and advocate the claims of a popish prince, after his violent persecution of the catholics. His hypocrisy appears to have been matchless, and only equalled by his perfidy.

One of the operations of this bill was, that it broke the influence of catholic power by the subdivision of their

handed property. Their estates were ordered to descend in equal shares to all their children, unless the persons who should otherwise inherit would conform to protestantism. If the son of a catholic should become a protestant, he was vested with a power over the inheritance of his father, who, in that case, became tenant for life under mortifying restrictions. It is scarcely possible to conceive a penal system conceived with more refinement of cruelty and persecution than this, which was enforced during the whole of Anne's reign with a strictness which made the law still more odious, and the catholics still more discontented.

The Irish parliament in 1707 voted an address to the earl of Pembroke, then lord-lieutenant, in which they felicitated themselves upon the opportunity they should find under his administration of enacting still further laws necessary to uphold the protestant interest. Pembroke was succeeded by the unscrupulous and profligate earl of Wharton, who told parliament that the sure way to keep down the catholic ascendancy in Ireland was unanimity among the protestants themselves. Dean Swift said of Wharton, that "he had sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and had raised it by going far in the ruin of another; that his administration of Ireland was not looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him at least for high crimes and misdemeanours; and that yet he had gained by the government of that kingdom under two years £45,000. by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential." Upon reading this character the reader cannot but reprobate the venality of the then Irish house of commons, which could obsequiously present him an address, in which they assured him, "that they gratefully acknowledged her majesty's more particular care of them in appointing his excellency their chief governor, whose equal and impartial administration gave them just reason to hope, and earnestly wish, his long continuance in the government."

During the last four years of Anne's reign the tory faction was predominant in England, and the tories of Ireland, of which there were many, besides the catholics, who were Jacobites as well as tories, began to raise their heads, and create dissensions between them and the whigs. The

tories prevailed in the Irish house of peers ; but the whigs still maintained a small majority in the commons. The main body of the clergy supported tory principles, while the university of Dublin was so attached to those of 1688 that they degraded and expelled one Edward Forbes for having aspersed the memory of king William. The parliamentary contests were very vehement. The house of lords presented an address to the queen Nov. 9th, 1711, in which they alleged "that sincere veneration for her majesty's royal person and prerogative and tender regard for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, could alone prevail on them thus long to forget the high indignities offered to their house by the commons, and to submit their private injuries to her majesty's more public concerns, lest their just resentment, which the commons by their behaviour had so industriously provoked, might obstruct her majesty's affairs, and thus render effectual the malicious designs of evil minded men." They complained that "the commons had treated them in a manner wholly unknown to former parliaments, and had addressed them in language more indecent, more opprobrious than had been used by another house of commons at a time when they voted the house of lords useless. That however justly her majesty might approve the conduct of the college of Dublin in the late revolution, still they humbly conceived that her majesty did not extend her bounty to them to promote (in general) revolution principles.—principles which, as explained by the pamphlets and libels publicly avowed and circulated by men of factious and seditious tempers, and particularly in a sermon preached on the 30th of January, dedicated to that very house of commons, without censure or animadversion, did in a great measure maintain and justify the execrable murder of king Charles I. and on which might be founded any rebellion against her majesty and her successors. They insisted on their right of construing the words and terms used by the commons in their address, viz. that the commons having in their vote mentioned the steady adherence of the provost and fellows of the college to the late Revolution as one consideration of their application for the £5000. since granted by her majesty ; the subsequent motive mentioned in that vote, viz. for the encouragement of sound revolution principles, could not, in good reason,

by grammar, be referred to the late revolution; since adherence to the late revolution was a distinct motive of itself. And it was the known nature of principles to be as well the rule and guide of future as of past actions. They disclaimed every intention of misrepresenting the commons to her majesty; for their own actions they were to be judged by God and her majesty. But for themselves, they did most solemnly assure her majesty they were heartily thankful to Almighty God for the late happy Revolution, acknowledging the necessity and justice of it; and that they would, at the utmost hazard and expense of their lives and fortunes, defend, support, and maintain her majesty's sacred person and government; her just prerogative in the choice of her ministers, the church of Ireland as by law established, and the succession of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, against the pretender, and all those who designed revolutions either in church or state; against all her majesty's enemies abroad, and against all papists, jacobites, and republicans at home." From the tone and temper of this address, it is easy to perceive that the disputes between the whigs and tories had already gone to a considerable length.

The Irish parliament at this period, and for long afterwards, was considered merely as a nominal assembly, without power or authority, by the English legislature. In every public act which at all embraced the interests of both countries, the parliament of England continued to legislate for Ireland as if she had no parliament of her own. One remarkable instance may be mentioned which will suffice to shew the spirit of the English parliament. When Sir William Windham's schism bill was brought into the house of commons in England, in 1714, the following clause was introduced: that "where the law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the same; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged, to extend to Ireland in as full and effectual a manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned in all and every the clauses of this act." This

clause was warmly debated both in the commons and lords; but it was finally carried, though warmly protested against in the former house. The protest made by the lords, thirty three in number, contains many strong reasons against intolercency in general, and as peculiarly relating to Ireland, deserves a place here.

“First. We cannot apprehend, (as the bill recites) that great danger may ensue from the dissenters to the church and state; because,

1. By law no dissenter is capable of any station which can be supposed to render him dangerous.

2. And since the several sects of dissenters differ from each other as much as they do from the established church, they can never form of themselves a national church, nor have they any temptation to set up any one sect among them; for, in that case, all that the other sects can expect is only a toleration which they already enjoy by the indulgence of the state; and therefore it is their interest to support the established church against any other sect that would attempt to destroy it.

Secondly. If, nevertheless, that dissenters were dangerous, severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the church as a charitable indulgence, as is manifested by experience, there having been more dissenters reconciled to the church since the act of toleration than in all the time from the act of uniformity to the time of the said act of toleration; and there is scarce one considerable family in England in communion with the dissenters. Severity may make men hypocrites but not converts.

Thirdly. If severity could be supposed ever to be of use, yet this is not a proper time for it while we are threatened with much greater dangers to our church and nation, against which the protestant dissenters have joined, and are still willing to join with us in our defence; and therefore we should not drive them from us by enforcing the laws against them in a matter which, of all others, must most sensibly grieve them, viz. the education of their children, which reduces them to the necessity either of breeding them up in a way which they do not approve, or of leaving them without instruction.

Fourthly. This must be more grievous to the dissenters,

because it was little expected from members of the established church, after so favourable an indulgence to them as the act of toleration, and the repeated declarations and professions from the throne and former parliaments against all persecution, which is the peculiar badge of the Roman church, which avows and practices this doctrine: and yet this has not been retaliated even upon the papists, for all the laws made against them have been the effect and just punishment of the treasons from time to time committed against the state, but it is not pretended that this bill is designed as a punishment of any crime which the protestant dissenters have been guilty of against the civil government, or that they are disaffected to the protestant succession as by law established. for in this their zeal is very conspicuous.

Fifthly. In all the instances of making laws, or of a rigid execution of the laws against the dissenters, it is very remarkable that the design was to weaken the church, and to drive them into one common interest with the papists, and to join them in measures tending to the destruction of it; these were the measures suggested by popish councils to prepare them for this and successive declarations in the time of king Charles II. and the following issued by king James II. to ruin all our civil and religious rights; and we cannot think that the acts and contrivances of the papists to subvert our church are proper means to preserve it, especially at a time when we are in more danger of popery than ever, by the designs of the Pretender, supported by the mighty power of the French king, who is engaged to extirpate our religion, and by great numbers in this kingdom, who are professedly in his interest.

Sixthly. But if the dissenters should not be provoked by this severity to concur in the destruction of this country and the protestant religion, yet we may justly fear they may be driven by this bill from England, to the great prejudice of our manufactures; for as we gained them by the persecutions abroad, so we may lose them by the like proceedings at home.

Lastly. The miseries we apprehend here are greatly enhanced by extending this bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal; for since the number of

papists in that kingdom far exceeds all the protestants of all denominations together, and that the dissenters are to be treated as enemies or as least as persons dangerous to that church and state, who have always, in all times joined, and would still join, with the members of that church in their common defence against the common enemy of their religion; and since the army there is much reduced, the protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the danger of another massacre, and the protestant religion in danger of being extirpated.

And we may further fear that the Scotch in Britain whose national church is presbyterian, will not so heartily and so zealously join with us in our defence, when they see those of the same nation, the same blood, and the same religion, so hardly treated by us.

And this will still be more grievous to the protestant dissenters in Ireland, because, while the popish priests are registered and so indulged by law as that they exercise their religion without molestation, the dissenters are so far from enjoying the like toleration that the laws are, by this bill, enforced against them."

Such were the arguments used by the thirty-three protestant lords; many of the principles laid down by them do honour to them as advocates of partial toleration, still it is evident that they seemed to be guided in their declarations solely by views of temporary expediency. They were unwilling to subject the protestant dissenters to any disabilities on account of their religion, which might alienate them from the state, and their zeal for that church establishment which they were willing to uphold. But they had no hesitation in admitting that chains ought to be forged for the Roman catholics.

Faction raged between the whigs and tories without control in England at this period, and the alarm was sounded, but not so vehemently, in Ireland. Every effort of the English government, however, was unable to subdue the majority in the Irish house of commons which avowed the principles, and would have imitated the practice, in some particulars, of the puritans and dissenters in Charles and Cromwell's time. Consequently, while toryism reigned in all its dignity in the Irish house of lords, whiggism, com-

lined with a little religious intolerance, stood like a bulwark in the commons, and presented a bold front to the patrician authority of the upper house. There was neither unity of council nor unity of action between the two legislative branches; or if they did agree in any one point, it was in that general one of oppressing the catholics. In the midst of this political confusion in both countries, which in England was increased by the fears of a popish successor, queen Anne died (1714) leaving behind her a strong impression upon the minds of her subjects that she was heartily indisposed to the succession of the house of Hanover, and that the efforts of her ministers, as well as her own, had been chiefly directed to the accomplishment of her brother's (the Pretender) accession to the throne upon her decease, by persuading him to abandon popery, and become a convert to the protestant religion as by law established.

CHAPTER VII.

George I. Loyalty of the Irish catholics. Additional penal statutes. Passing of the act 6th George I. Dean Swift. Wood's Patent. Popularity of Swift. Primate Boulter. Death of George I. and accession of George II. Address of the catholics. Character of Primate Boulter. Viceroyalty of the duke of Dorset. Irish tithes. Lord Chesterfield viceroy. His beneficial administration. Primate Stone. His character. Death of George II.

GEORGE I. was proclaimed on the 1st of August, 1714, in London; and on the 6th of August about eleven o'clock at night, in Dublin, where it was apprehended that the pretender's right would be asserted; to prevent which, a proclamation was issued on the 7th, for disarming all papists and suspected persons, for no other reason that we can perceive than that they were catholics and the pretender was one also. But the Irish catholics, notwithstanding the presumptive circumstances against their fidelity, made not the slightest opposition to the Hanover succession.

A parliament was assembled in 1715, by the lords justices, the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway, which was distinguished for its zeal in passing several acts recognising the king's title. A bill of attainder was also passed against the pretender, and they offered a reward of £50,000. for his apprehension. The commons also addressed the king, praying him to remove from his councils the earl of Anglesey, on account of his connivance at the recruiting service in behalf of the chevalier, then going on publicly in Dublin. These proceedings, together with the undisturbed state of the whole catholic population, were thought to be declaratory of the loyalty of Ireland towards the house of Hanover, that the lords justices, in their speech to the parliament, declared that "it was with no small satisfaction that they observed the calm which that kingdom (formerly the seat of so many rebellions) then enjoyed, while the traitorous enemies to the king and happy establishment, discouraged by their early and
 zeal for the protestant succession, had thought fit

to change their plan of action, and attempt elsewhere to disturb his majesty's government."

Such was the general tone of confidence assumed by the government with respect to the collective body of the Irish people, and yet the papists were treated with unabated rigour, and inconsistently enough eulogised and aspersed in the same breath. The same lords justices in their address to the commons, said, "We must recommend to you, in the present conjuncture, such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland *but that of protestant and papist.*" Nor was this all; for at the very moment when the loyalty of the catholics was confided in, they were still designated in parliamentary language as the *common enemy*; and the Irish house of commons came unanimously to the following resolution: "That it is the indispensable duty of all magistrates to put the laws in immediate execution against all popish priests who shall officiate contrary to law, and that such magistrates who neglect the same be *looked upon as enemies to the constitution.*" On another occasion it was resolved, "that an humble address be presented to their excellencies the lords justices, that they will be pleased to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to such who shall discover any person who is enlisted, or shall hereafter enlist in his majesty's service, to be a papist, in order to their being turned out and punished with the utmost severity of the law." That any class, superior in numbers as the catholics were, so proscribed, so degradingly insulted, should remain quiet, is truly matter of astonishment to us. We cannot for a moment suppose that they could be cordially attached to a government under which they possessed nothing but slavery, embittered by ceaseless persecution; and must conclude that their quiet was the calm of hopeless despair; the allegiance of a broken heart, not the willing obedience of a grateful one.

In 1718, an event took place which led to an assumption of power on the part of the English legislature, which deserves particular notice. We will give it in the words of Mr. Barlow, who says,

"In a suit for an estate between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, the latter obtained from the court of exchequer a decree in his favour, which, on an appeal, was

reversed by the Irish lords. Appealing from their judgment to the British lords, Annesley was gratified with a confirmation of the first sentence, and an order for his being put in possession of the disputed ground. The Irish peers, on a petition from Sherlock for relief, proposed a question to the judges, whether by the laws of the land an appeal should lie from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland to the king in parliament in Great Britain? Having received an answer in the negative, the peers passed a resolution that they would support their honour, jurisdiction, and privileges, in the affording of effectual relief to their petitioner, according to their order formerly given. But they afterwards received a petition from the sheriff of Kildare, in which it was stated, that when he entered on his office, he was commanded by an injunction from the court of exchequer to restore Annesley to the possession of the contested lands, which had been delivered to Hester Sherlock by the last sheriff; and that he was fined for disobedience, and that through fear of an arrest he had not come to pass his accounts, in consequence of which he was also fined in £1,200. By the resolutions of the lords, the sheriff's conduct was approved, his fines were annulled, and the house of peers ordered the barons of exchequer to be taken into the custody of the black rod for having obeyed an order of the English house of peers. On the other hand, a very explicit and elaborate representation of all the proceedings of the lords in Ireland, concerning appeals, was transmitted to his majesty, which was laid before the British house of lords and read; whereupon they resolved that the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, in proceeding in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and that an humble address be presented to his majesty to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had received by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for having done their duty. Against these resolutions, however, the duke of Leeds entered a spirited, interesting, and constitutional protest, consisting of fourteen articles, in the eleventh of which he noticed the great iniquity of obliging men to resort to a far distant tribunal, out of their own country.

at expenses insupportable by any but the rich, who must thereby be enabled to practise injustice with impunity.

“This assumption of legislative authority, however, did not stop here; for the British parliament next proceeded to complete the subjection of Ireland, and its dependance upon England by an express statute, which was passed in 1719, entitled ‘An act for the better securing the dependancy of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain;’ by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of the right of judicature, in the right of appeals, and the legislative authority of the Irish parliament placed in a very problematical situation; for by this act the parliament of England declared, that it had ‘full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland.’”

This act, which was not repealed till 1782, seemed to be the last blow that could be aimed at the independence of the Irish people, and a few subsequent years of sullen obedience appeared to be a sufficient proof that every feeling of national honour was extinct. During the period that elapsed between the passing of this act (1719) and the year 1724, no transaction occurred to diversify the gloomy scene of despondency which pervaded the whole nation. The object of the governors was to consolidate an aristocratic, which might be ready on all occasions to support the schemes of the government at home; while in the commons a small whig majority continued to prevail; yet only whigs in whatever related to themselves, for in 1723, they came to eight resolutions against the catholics; upon which the heads of a bill were introduced for explaining and amending the acts to prevent the further growth of popery, and for strengthening the protestant interest in Ireland. One of the proposed clauses was to castrate every catholic clergyman that should be found in the realm. This disgraceful bill was presented to the lord-lieutenant, November 15th, 1723, and by him transmitted to England, where it was rejected with indignation and abhorrence, by the legislature, as a measure which would have disgraced the darkest periods of bigotry, ignorance, and persecution.

“On this gloom,” says the anonymous author of a *Sketch of the State of Ireland*, “one luminary arose, and Ireland worshipped it with Persian idolatry: her true

patriot, her first, and almost her last. Sagacious and intrepid, he saw, he dared; above suspicion, he was trusted; above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wisdom was practical and prophetic; remedied for the present, warning for the future: he first taught Ireland that she might become a nation, and England that she might cease to be a despot. But he was a churchman. His gown impeded his course and entangled his efforts. Guiding a senate or heading an army, he had been more than Cromwell, and Ireland not less than England; as it was he saved her by his courage, improved her by his authority, advanced her by his talents, and exalted her by his fame. His mission was but of ten years; and for ten years only did his personal power mitigate the government; but though no longer feared by the great, he was not forgotten by the wise. His influence, like his writings, has survived a century, and the foundations of whatever posterity have since erected are laid in the disinterested and magnanimous patriotism of SWIFT."

Three distinct parties prevailed in Ireland at this period, and instead of contributing to heal her wounds or allay her dissensions, they aggravated the one and extended the other. They were all protestants, and they were all zealous. There was the old revolutionary party, affecting whiggism, but acting upon the principles of the puritans; these were the majority in the commons. The old tory interest prevailed in the house of lords; while throughout the country a small party acquired a preponderance which they endeavoured to make subservient to the genuine doctrines of those whigs who had reared the fabric of British liberty at the Revolution, and were anxious to communicate to others the blessings they themselves enjoyed. Yet there was one exception—the unhappy and degraded Roman catholic. However opposed to each other upon almost every other topic, all parties were unanimous upon the subject of destroying every comfort and every enjoyment of the poor catholic; while they, helpless, persecuted, and forlorn, scarcely dared to raise their heads to claim the common rights of existence.

Excluding the catholic question from the picture, however, we shall find the patriotic few labouring with energy in defence of the liberties of the protestants; and in no

instances were their labours more conspicuous than in the affair of *Wood's patent*, of which Mr. Plowden gives the following account.

"There had not been for many years a coinage of copper in Ireland; the low medium of halfpence and farthings had become very scarce; and the deficiency was found to be attended with great inconveniency. Applications were made in vain to England for a new coinage. What was refused to the voice of the Irish nation was granted to the intrigues of William Wood. He obtained a patent for coining copper halfpence and farthings, for the use of Ireland, to the amount of £100,000. They were cast of such base alloy, that the whole mass was not worth £6000. Of this base coin he poured an immense infusion into Ireland. Brass multiplied beyond example; was not only used in change but attempted to be forced in payments. The Irish nation took the alarm and made it a national cause; and it may be said to have been the first in which all parties in Ireland had ever come to issue with the British cabinet. The Irish parliament in an address to the throne, told the king they were called upon by their country to represent the ill consequences to the kingdom likely to result from Wood's patent: that the prospect which it presented to the view was the diminution of the revenue and the ruin of trade. An application from the privy council of Ireland to the king spoke the same language; and addresses to the like effect from most of the city corporations throughout the kingdom were handed up to the throne. At the quarter sessions the country gentlemen and magistrates unanimously declared against it; and the grand jury of the county of Dublin presented all persons who attempted to impose upon the people of Ireland the base coin, as enemies to government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of his majesty's subjects. It was not to be expected that an individual speculator, who could raise an interest with the British cabinet more powerful than the united voice of the whole people of Ireland, should forego all his golden prospects from the opposition of those whom he had, in the first instance, baffled and defeated. He still commanded such influence with his patrons as to bring forth a report from the privy council of England in his favour which cast many severe (not to say indecent) reflections upon the parliament

of Ireland for having opposed his patent. After the nation had been kept in turbulent agitation for a year by the real or imaginary effects of this job, tranquility was restored by his majesty's revocation of the patent, which put an end to the currency of this base money, and opened to Ireland a dawn of confidence that their sovereign's ear would not be for ever shut against the united voice of his Irish people."

Whatever benefit Ireland derived from the abolition of Wood's patent, she owed it all to Dean Swift, who in the *Drapier's Letters* first roused the nation to a sense of the injury that was about to be inflicted upon it; and pointed out the unjust attempt of England to enrich an individual at the expence of the country. Lord Orrery, in his lively narrative, observes, "At the sound of the Drapier's trumpet, a spirit arose among the people, that, in the eastern phrase, was 'like unto a tempest in the day of the whirlwind.' Every person of rank, party, and denomination, was convinced that the admission of Wood's copper must prove fatal to the commonwealth. The papist, the fanatic, the tory, the whig, all enlisted themselves volunteers under the banner of M. B. Drapier, and were all equally zealous to serve the common cause. Much heat, and many fury speeches against the administration, were the consequence of this union; nor had the flames been allayed, notwithstanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally suppressed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent."

Swift did not stand forth as the apostle of a nation's rights without incurring some of the personal risk, and some of the personal renown which attach to every asserter of momentous enterprises. The same nobleman remarks,

"The name of Augustus was not bestowed upon Octavius Cæsar with more universal approbation than the name of the DRAPIER was bestowed upon the DEAN. He had no sooner assumed his new *cognomen* than he became the idol of the people of Ireland to a degree of devotion that in the most superstitious country scarce any idol ever obtained. Libations to his health, or, in plain English, bumpers were poured forth to the DRAPIER as large and as frequent as to the glories and immortal memory of king William the Third. His effigies were painted in every

street in Dublin. Acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended his footsteps wherever he passed. He was consulted in all points relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked upon as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently came in a body, consisting of fifty or sixty chieftains of their trade, to receive his advice in settling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen. He received their addresses with less majesty than sternness, and ranging his subjects in a circle round his parlour, spoke as copiously and with as little difficulty and hesitation, to the general points in which they supplicated his assistance, as if trade had been the only study and employment of his life."

The successful efforts of the reverend patriot were viewed with extreme jealousy and indignation by the government; and the lord lieutenant, lord Carteret, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £300. for the discovery of the author of Drapier's letters; but the popularity of the cause frustrated the proclamation.

Lord Carteret, who convened the parliament in 1725, was nominally the viceroy of Ireland till 1732; but the real governor from the year 1724 to 1742 was primate Boulter, an ecclesiastic of great ambition, strong passions, and misguided judgment. He was the main prop, and the untiring advocate of the ascendancy of the English interest, nor was he very scrupulous about the means by which he accomplished his purpose. His whole power, political, official, and intellectual, was devoted to the maintaining the legislative superiority and dominion of England. Consequently, he was an enemy to the true interests of Ireland; and his memory is held in very little estimation by posterity. The remainder of the reign of George I. who died June 11, 1727, comprises nothing that relates particularly to Ireland, and we hasten to that of his successor.

On the accession of George II. he assembled his privy council, and declared to them his firm purpose, to preserve inviolate the constitution in church and state. He retained all the great officers of state; and Sir Robert Walpole, who was prime minister, appeared even to possess a more exclusive share of royal favour than he did before.

The Irish catholics, for the first time since the revolu-

tion, ventured to approach the throne. They drew up an address of congratulation, expressive of loyalty to their sovereign, and pledging themselves to a continuance of their peaceful demeanour. It was presented to the lords justices by lord Delvin and several respectable catholic gentlemen, but it was received with silent contempt; and though they were entreated to forward this address to the foot of the throne, they neither condescended to give any answer, nor was it ever known whether it was presented or not.

There is a tedious uniformity of oppression prevails through this period of Irish history. Almost every measure, whether originating in the native government, or in the English cabinet, went to destroy every thing that could give the catholics of Ireland an interest in their country. Primate Boulter now meditated a bold step, with a view to confirm the English ascendancy, and to blot out the last remaining vestige of freedom which still belonged to the degraded catholic; resolved to disfranchise the whole catholic body. This act of gross injustice was committed in a manner that must excite the abhorrence of the reader. In a bill that was brought into the Irish commons professing merely to regulate the election of members of parliament, a clause was clandestinely introduced by way of amendment, which quietly and insidiously deprived four-fifths of the people of Ireland of the "noblest birth right and invaluable privilege of the subject." By this clause it was enacted that "no papist, though not convict, should be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in parliament, as knight, citizen, or burgess, or the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate." Having accomplished his object so far, the next step taken by the primate was to prevent, by act of parliament, papists practising as solicitors, which was the only branch of the law they were then permitted to practise.

The duke of Dorset was appointed viceroy in 1731, but unlike his predecessors, he abstained from recommending further severities against the catholics: he merely told parliament he would leave it to their consideration, whether any further laws were necessary to prevent the growth of popery; and when his grace was about to return to

England in 1733, he paid an honourable testimony to the loyalty of the inhabitants: "I think myself happy," said he, "that on my return to his majesty's royal presence, I can justly represent his people of Ireland as most dutiful, loyal, and affectionate subjects." His grace returned again as lord-lieutenant after a lapse of two years, and during his second viceroyalty an event happened which deserves to be particularly noticed, from its intimate connexion with some of the most important of subsequent events.

The emigrations of protestants to America were about this period so numerous that not fewer than 3,000 departed annually from Ulster alone, and were represented by owners of estates, of which class the house of commons consisted, as occasioned by the oppression of tithes, particularly those of agistment for dry cattle. Petitions and examinations on the subject were received by a committee, a report made, and the house came to a resolution that, "any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, should be considered as an enemy to his country."

The cultivated land of Ireland was not then a hundredth part of what it is at present. By the resolution of the house of commons, therefore, the incumbents of church livings were defrauded of the greater part of their property, and of that property derived from those most able to supply it. The persons most interested in refusing the tithe of agistment were the extensive graziers and protestant proprietors of land; men who possessed great influence in the house of commons, and who succeeded in deterring those from claiming it whose right it had been decided to be by repeated decrees of the court of exchequer. The pasture lands of Ireland were thus exempted from the payment of tithe, and the rector was turned on the garden of the already oppressed catholic cottager, while the protestant proprietor of thousands of acres of pasture land was freed. By this resolution all pasture land was exempted from tithe, and the protestant clergymen immediately increased their demands on the farmer and the cottager to make up the deficiency in their income. The most vexatious exactions were consequently made from the cottar tenant, while the wealthy landlord is altogether relieved of the burden, and the whole weight suffered to fall upon the

poor the least able to bear it; nor must it be forgotten, that the catholic tenantry were thus oppressed to support an established church whose doctrines they conscientiously rejected and condemned.

From the passing of this resolution by the Irish house of commons in 1735, down to the year 1760, the poor people of Ireland bore their grievances in silence and in sadness. What occurred afterwards (and most of the insurrections that disturbed Ireland for nearly half a century had their origin in this obnoxious system) will be narrated in the proper place; and in the meantime we will here submit to the reader's attention, a few extracts from the "Past and Present Condition of Ireland, by baron Smith, of the Irish Exchequer. His observations upon the grievances of tithes and general oppression of the catholics, are well worth an attentive perusal.

"Tithes, the pretence, therefore, and cause of an hundred insurrections—a tax more vexatious than oppressive, and more impolitic than either: vexatious, because paid directly and in kind, at unequal and fluctuating rates: impolitic, because it is vexatious; because a people, unanimous in this alone, declaim against it; because it might be replaced by a more equal, certain, and satisfactory imposition.

"But they are not unjust, not even oppressive; rather profitable to the tenant, computed as a tenth in his bargain, seldom amounting to a twentieth in his payment. Nor are they levied from the popish peasant, for the protestant parson. By the peasant, popish or protestant, they are not in fact paid, for his head rent is always diminished by more than their amount. Those who occupy tithe-free lands, pay, in the increased rent, a double tithe: hence follow, that tithes are really the contribution of the landlords; and that to abolish them, without condition or substitute, would be a direct donative to the rich, at the expense of the clergy and the poor.

"If abolished, they must be replaced, or the church establishment overthrown. The latter alternative I dismiss from my thoughts; and shall only consider of the fittest substitute. I disregard as an obstacle, the divine origin of tithes; and disallow the claims of the church to them, as the hereditary property of those whose clerical character

is not hereditary. In Levi's family, it might be just that tithes should descend, because the priesthood did; but here they are as they should be, the property of the state, that pays its ecclesiastical, as it does its civil, military, and fiscal officers, with equal powers of change, modification, and control.

"It has been proposed to replace them by a *commutation for glebe*, impracticable from its complication; a *corn rent*, more oppressive and vexatious than the present evil; an *acreable land-tax*, less objectionable, but unsatisfactory and unequal, as computed on the unalterable measure, and not on the various and fluctuating values of land.

"I propose a system, not perfect perhaps, but preferable. *A poundage upon all rents*; not of a tenth, perhaps not a twentieth, probably of a thirtieth or fortieth.

"The clergy in great towns are amply and cheerfully paid by a rate on the estimated value of each house. My proposition would improve and extend this system over the whole country.

"In 1787, an intelligent prelate computed the average of each clergyman's annual income at £133. 6s. I will suppose it now to be £250. the benefices fewer than 1200; the ecclesiastical establishments less, therefore, than £300,000. But 6d. in the pound, one-fortieth on the rent-roll of Ireland, would produce £500,000. A sum adequate to the payment of *all* the clergy, protestant, catholic, and dissenting.

"I pass over the details, I trust practicable, to arrive at the results, certainly beneficial—the peasantry relieved, at least, appeased; the landlord secured; the protestant clergy amply indemnified;—the catholic priesthood—the servants of the British empire, not of Rome—their power of good increased, of evil destroyed, and their present precarious and illegal livelihoods replaced by a constitutional and honourable provision; a chief cause of animosity eradicated; and the country indulged, improved, perhaps tranquilised, by the extension of a principle already familiar and improved.

"The practical debasement of the lower orders of society is compounded of their ignorance and poverty, already examined; of the injustice or contumely of their superiors, to discuss which might exasperate these, inflame the others,

and injure all; and lastly, of the dearness and difficulty of legal redress, not to be passed over unlamented, unrepented.

"The law has never thoroughly mingled itself with Ireland: there lately were—perhaps still are—districts imperious to the king's writs, castles fortified against the sheriff, and legal estates invaded by force of arms; contumacies, not frequent indeed, but from which an enquirer will deduce, not unfairly, ordinary disrespect for the law. This in civil cases. In criminal—how large a share of our jurisprudence!—witnesses not unfrequently suborned, intimidated, or murdered; juries subdued; felons acquitted; in common transactions, the administration by justices of the peace, sometimes partial, generally despised and unsatisfactory. The body—in England so effective—of mayors, bailiffs, and constables, unknown, or known as a jest. Parish offices, sinecures; the great man and the strong man executing, the poor and weak suffering the law.

"The blame is not easily apportioned: much is in the pride and folly of the gentry; much in the native perverseness of the people; much in the indifference of the government; some thing in an indiscreet nomination of magistrates; more, and most of all, in the exorbitant taxation of legal proceedings, by which the law is become, not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The courts are open to the indigent only as spectators: the peasant oppressed or defrauded to the amount of £10. cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the law for less than £60. By victory or defeat, he is equally irremediably ruined. The system *must* be amended—abandoned.

"I consider the habitual weakness of the law as the first cause of the habitual weakness of the land, from Henry to George.

"The thoughts of those who read for ideas, not words, will fill up my outline. Let us hope that the wisdom of the legislature will soon erase it."

The duke of Devonshire succeeded Dorset in the lieutenancy, in 1737. He was the most munificent of the viceroys of this kingdom; for he expended his private revenue not only in a sumptuous style of living, but also in works of public utility. His administration passed with unusual tranquility. There was but one event occurred of

any importance, and that was the alarm given to the possessors of confiscated estates by an application of the earl of Clancarty to the king, in 1739, for the restoration of his property, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of 1688. The earl had obtained the consent of the British cabinet, that a bill should be brought into the Irish parliament for the reversal of his attainder; but the measure was relinquished in consequence of the vigorous opposition of the commons, who voted, that any attempt to disturb the protestant purchasers of estates forfeited by rebellion would be of dangerous consequences to his majesty's person and government. The attainder of Clancarty was not reversed, and he considering himself ill used, attended the summons of the Pretender who was preparing to invade Britain in 1745.

The earl of Chesterfield was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1745, and by his moderation, good sense, and equity, kept Ireland quiet and steady in its allegiance at this critical juncture; and it does not appear that the Irish catholics manifested the slightest disposition to embark in the cause of the pretender. The administration of the earl of Chesterfield was one of those upon which Ireland still looks back with regret. His object was the conciliation of all parties, and he accomplished it. He displayed a full and entire confidence in the fidelity of the catholics. Instead of demanding troops from England he sent four battalions to reinforce the royal army in Scotland, and supplied their place with additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment, and encouraged volunteer associations for defence, so that he neither augmented the public expenditure, the influence of the crown, his own patronage, or his private emolument. His measures had in them that principle of rectitude which ensured support, and he disdained to obtain partizans by the grants of offices and emoluments. Under his government the catholic enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of his religion. The effect of this wise system was complete unanimity, and a sincere desire among all parties to further every measure of their respected viceroy. It had been well for England, and a source of happiness for Ireland, had men like the earl of Chesterfield been more frequently employed, as viceroy, instead of those who went to Ireland to repair,

shattered fortunes, or to act as sycophants to whatever minister chanced to rule at home.

Chesterfield was beloved by the people of Ireland, and as the danger had gone by, and there existed no longer a necessity to be magnanimous, the English government, only a few days after the total discomfiture of the rebels of Culloden, recalled the earl, lest the Irish people should learn to value the privileges of civil, political, and religious comforts, and the prayers of the people followed him to the shores of England. The earl of Harrington was appointed his successor. At this period we find primate Stone animating the *English interest* in Ireland, in which phrase was combined a regular system of oppression and injustice, and an unceasing endeavour to ruin and degrade the native interests of Ireland. In all the ambition of political intrigue and courtly subserviency, Stone may be regarded as the successor of Boulter. He was originally of low origin, his grandfather having been gaoler at Winchester, but his father by some means became a banker. He was heart and soul devoted to the court and his patrons at home; but of a most profligate character; and if report be true, this saintly prelate was no enemy to those recreations which it were vain to hope to stigmatise by any term of adequate infamy. May the importation of *Ganymedes* be discontinued in Ireland, was a common toast. The fact of Stone's lying under this odious suspicion is undoubted; and Churchill lashes the primate most deservedly in his indignant but disgusting poem, "The Times." Such was the man into whose hands was confided the management of the English interest in Ireland: who solely anxious to do the king's business, totally neglected his pastoral duties.

But it was not quite so easy a task to support the English interest as heretofore. The earl of Harrington, however, when he met the parliament in 1747, dwelt upon his majesty's continued regard and affection for the Irish people, and recommended a continuance of that unanimity which prevailed. But an occurrence soon took place which informed the government at home, that Ireland was advancing in the road of independence. Lord Clare in his speech on the Union, thus notices this event.

"After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the trade of this

country (Ireland) had so increased that the hereditary revenue was amply sufficient for every public service, and a considerable surplus remained in the exchequer, after defraying every charge upon it; and it is difficult to say how long this oligarchy might have kept its ground if the intrigues of the ambitious ecclesiastic (Stone) then at the head of the Irish church, had not laid the foundation of party heat and animosities, which have long disturbed and degraded our parliamentary proceedings. The great trial of strength between the primate and the then speaker of the house of commons (Boyle) was made, when a bill was proposed for applying the surplus to pay a public debt, which had been some time before contracted. The courtiers ranged under the ecclesiastical banner, contended that this surplus belonged to the crown, and therefore that the king's previous assent to its application ought to be signified before the commons could appropriate. The patriots ranged under the speaker's banner, insisted that no such assent was necessary, and beat their political adversaries by a small majority. Heads of a bill for the appropriation passed the commons without taking notice of the king's previous assent to it. They were rejected by the crown, and the surplus was applied by the royal authority without the intervention of parliament. But the commons took effectual care that the question should not occur a second time, by appropriating every future surplus, under the specious pretence of local improvements. Windmills and watermills, and canals and bridges, and spinning jennies, were provided at the public expense; and the parliamentary patrons of these great national objects were entrusted with full discretionary powers over the money granted to complete them. From this system of local improvement a double advantage arose to the Irish aristocracy; it kept their followers steady in the ranks, and by reducing the crown to the necessity of calling for the supplies, made the political services of the leaders necessary for the support of the king's government. But the precedent was fatal, and a system has gradually been built upon it, which would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth."

This matter was vehemently agitated, and showed the dawning spirit of freedom in Ireland. It called into action

many characters and sentiments which appeared extraordinary in those days of servility.

The duke of Bedford was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1757, and openly professed a favourable disposition to the catholics; and in 1759, he informed the parliament, that by a letter from England, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, following up her plan of invasion, would, if successful in eluding the vigilance of the British fleet, make Ireland their first object. The commons expressed their readiness to assist his excellency in all that was necessary for the most vigorous defence; but so great was the consternation among the people that a general suspension of business took place; public credit was at a stand, and in consequence of an extraordinary run upon the bankers in Dublin, many of them were compelled to stop payment; and it was only by the active measures of the government the nation was saved from bankruptcy.

During this period of alarm, assemblies of the catholics were held, and addresses expressive of their fidelity and loyalty presented to the viceroy, who received them favourably, and graciously answered them. The threatened invasion partially took place. The French fleet destined for this service was defeated by admiral Hawke; but in January, 1760, a squadron under the command of Thurot, effected a landing at Carrickfergus, after several disasters, which had reduced the number of their men to about 600. The town capitulated for want of means of defence; but the country people rallied, and a body of 3,000 men were advancing, when the French re-embarked, the fifth day after their landing. Contrary winds, however, prevented their escape, and they were engaged off the Isle of Man by captain Elliott, to whom they struck after a short engagement, 300 of their number being killed, among whom was the commander Thurot.

This was the last event of any importance which occurred in the reign of George II. who died on the 26th of October, 1760, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III.

CHAPTER VIII.

George III. Condition of Ireland. System adopted by England. The white-boys. Suspicion of French intrigue. Hearts of oak boys. Steel boys. Administration of the earl of Northumberland. Disposition of the commons to thwart the government. Administration of lord Townsend. Octennial bill passes. Diffuses joy throughout Ireland. New parliament. Ponsonby resigns the office of speaker. Management of parliament. Harcourt's administration. Absentee tax. Dawning spirit of liberty. Catholics recognised as subjects. Distress of the Manufactures. Administration of Buckinghamshire. Troops sent from Ireland to America. First concession granted to the catholics. The volunteers. Mr. Grattan. Obtain a redress of commercial grievances. Legislative independence of Ireland. Earl of Carlisle as viceroy. Meeting of volunteers at Dungannon. Duke of Portland's administration. Legislative independence of Ireland obtained.

DURING the long reign of George III. the most momentous occurrences took place in Ireland. Within that period too, her greatest men, whose names adorn her history, appeared upon the scene; Burgh, Curran, Daly, Fitzgibbon, Grattan, Hutchinson, asserted her interests or betrayed them; her literary fame was exalted; and her renown in arms was acknowledged; within that period, also, she gained for herself a constitution, and she lost it; she rebelled and was subdued; she became united to England, but she still continues discontented. George III. ascended the throne with every prepossession in his favour; he was young, graceful, and conciliating; and England and Scotland looked up to the commencement of his reign with anticipations of joy; while Ireland alone continued to mourn her degradation.

The earl of Halifax was the first lord lieutenant appointed by the young monarch. He was a nobleman of great elegance of manners, and an intelligent man of business. One of the first events that distinguished the administration of lord Halifax, was the appearance of the *white boys* in several parts of Munster. These insurgents derived their name from wearing frocks or shirts over their clothes;

they committed their outrages at night, seizing arms, houghing cattle, and perpetrating various other acts of violence. The causes of these outrages were to be found in the high price of provisions, and the decay of trade and manufactures. The starving peasantry meanwhile sought the large towns, where they might beg that bread they were unable to earn, while the affluent bestowed upon them the only benefit they could, the means of emigrating to other countries. Numbers continued to assemble at night fall and vented their fury on tithe proctors, monopolizers of large farms, or any others they conceived to be the cause of their misery. They committed the most shocking atrocities upon persons whom they suspected. These insurrections became daily more alarming, and it was soon reported that the insurgents were acting in concert with the French court; and there seems to be good reason for believing that French intrigue was employed in fomenting the discontents; but if such was the case they concealed their practices so as to elude the vigilance of government; for when a commission was appointed to examine into the causes of these disorders, they reported, "that the authors of these riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people;" which report was confirmed by the judges of the Munster circuit, as well as by the dying declarations of the first five of the unhappy men who were executed at Waterford, the precursors of many more sufferers who fell victims to the law.

At length lord Halifax, towards the close of the session, 1762, congratulated parliament on the suppression of the *white boys*: but new insurgents sprung up in the north, who were known by the name of *heart of oak boys*, from wearing oak boughs in their hats. They were chiefly protestants; but they were wretched, oppressed, and impoverished. The immediate cause of this revolt was the unfair management in the repairing the public roads, by which the whole burden was thrown on the poor. The inhabitants of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh, rose in tumult, and marched openly in large bodies, but they committed neither murder nor plunder, and rarely used personal violence; and a few troops were marched

towards the north, and tranquility was restored without much effusion of blood; and in the following session of parliament, the original cause of the disturbance was removed by the repeal of the old act concerning roads, and the enactment of a new, which provided a tax upon land, instead of personal labour, for the necessary purpose.

The *steel-boys* next appeared. But these were neither so numerous nor so violent. They were occasioned by an absentee nobleman not letting his lands when out of lease for the highest rents, but taking large fines and small rents; by which means the tenant not able to pay the fine was bought out by the wealthy undertaker. These persons rose in opposition to their oppressors, destroyed their houses and maimed their cattle; but they were soon reduced to order.

The earl of Northumberland succeeded lord Halifax in 1763. During his administration the Irish house of commons began to shew greater signs of awakening from their torpor. A few individuals applied themselves vigorously to the correction of public abuses; and great efforts were made to reduce the pension list which upon examination was found to exceed by £65,000 the fund that could alone be charged with them. The earl of Northumberland accepted the viceroyalty of Ireland upon the express condition that no pension for life should be granted during his lieutenancy.

The patriots continued their struggle against the influence of government, though with little success; but they were strengthened by the death of the profligate primate Stone in 1764, who had supported to the last the English interest, at the expense and to the prejudice of Ireland.

Lord Townshend was appointed viceroy in 1767. The lord lieutenant was, in future, to continue for some years in office, instead of two, and all the patronage of the lords justices vested in him. One part of the viceroy's policy was to countenance the general cry of the country for septennial parliaments, a privilege which Ireland thought she had a right to share with England. Irish parliaments though originally annual, had become of such duration as to terminate only with the life of the king, unless dissolved by royal prerogative. Dr. Lucas had ineffectually attempted, in 1761, to bring in a bill limiting the duration of parlia-

ment, but now, when granting this object was necessary for the furtherance of their own views, it was accomplished with the avowed support of the government. In 1768, the house of commons passed heads of a bill for holding septennial parliaments in Ireland; but the English council changed the septennial into octennial, which bill passed into a law. Its success was partly owing to the intrigues of the different factions, playing against each other and mortifying all parties by the adoption of a measure which none of them cordially approved. The intelligence was received with gratitude and applause, and illuminations were everywhere diffused. The return of this octennial bill was followed by a grateful address to the throne, and when the royal assent was given, the people took the horses from the viceroy's carriage, and drew him in triumph to the castle.

The new parliament did not assemble, however, before October, 1769, when a warm dispute arose between the lord-lieutenant and the commons. A money bill, planned by the British cabinet, and returned under the king's great seal, having been certified by the lord-lieutenant and the privy council, was rejected by the commons after the first reading, because it had not originated in their house. The viceroy was incensed at this defeat, and a protest, which he in vain attempted to enter on the journals of the commons, was with difficulty entered by him on those of the lords, five of whom protesting against his right to protest. In another question concerning their privileges, a majority appeared against the court in the house of commons, and the parliament was prorogued December 26th, after a session of little more than two months. It continued prorogued by five successive proclamations till February, 1771.

This measure of depriving the nation of the benefit of their parliament threw the whole country into a ferment; but the interval was employed by the lord-lieutenant in strengthening his plan of government and securing a party favourable to his views. When, in their usual address to the king, the commons gave their humble thanks for his majesty's continuance of lord Townshend in the government, their speaker, John Ponsonby, wrote a spirited letter to the house, intimating that as the viceroy had passed a censure on the commons at the end of the last session, he

could not perform the office of conveying such thanks as might imply a relinquishment of their proceedings; he therefore requested them to elect another speaker who might not think such conduct inconsistent with his honour. Edmund Leston Pery who, formerly a patriot, had become a courtier, was elected by a majority of four, and was accompanied to his new office by the indignation of the whole country.

The remainder of lord Townshend's administration passed over without any further violent opposition. He persevered in his plans without much regard to the means; and he had so completed his system, that he could on all occasions secure a majority of one-third in the house of commons, and by such majority did he actually carry seventeen different divisions on the first two days of the session. He abdicated the viceroyalty in 1772, and was succeeded by the earl of Harcourt, who was well fitted to follow explicitly the directions of the British ministry, and to leave the whole active labour of administration to his secretary.

When lord Harcourt assembled the parliament, October 12th, 1773, he found it necessary to discharge an arrear of £265,000. besides imposing an additional burden of £100,000 a year. It was thought at first, however, that he meant to promote the real interests of Ireland, and many patriots supported his measures at the commencement; but it was soon found to be only a continuance of lord Townshend's system, and they accordingly withdrew their countenance. One measure, however, exclusively originated with his lordship, which found great favour with the people. This was the absentee tax, which was entrusted to Mr. Flood, who early in the session moved, "that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rents and annual profits of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in the kingdom for the space of six months in each year." This bill was, however, rejected.

About this period a voice from America shouted to liberty, and Ireland heard the cry; and long before the issue of the contest with our transatlantic colonies, the Irish people glowed with a generous enthusiasm to emulate their example. She was oppressed; she had many evils

to redress, many privileges to obtain, and many securities for these privileges to provide. A growing spirit of resistance had been observable for many years. The parliament was not now as it had been, for within its walls, especially in the house of commons, it contained many men of vigorous minds, of undaunted perseverance, of patriotic character, who openly opposed the government with beneficial effect. Every new contest beheld an accession of numbers; and out of doors it excited a spirit of liberty, which co-operated powerfully on the final production of it. Ireland watched the origin and progress of the American revolt, and arose in her strength to emulate it; and her endeavours were partly successful. The English ministry, now thoroughly frightened by the lesson which her colonies had taught them, became fearful lest Ireland should follow the example, and began to relax a little from that rigid system which they had hitherto maintained; and to lord Harcourt's administration belongs the merit of first opening the door to the oppressed catholics. A general relaxation of the penal code took place; leave was given to bring in a bill to secure the repayment of money lent by papists to protestants on mortgages; and another, to enable papists to take leases of lives on lands. Neither of these bills, however, made much progress in the commons: but as it was the object of the English minister, (lord North) to do something that should conciliate the catholics, a bill was brought in and passed, by which his majesty's subjects in Ireland, of whatever persuasion, were permitted to testify their allegiance upon oath. This gratified the catholics, trifling as the boon really was; it at least recognised them as subjects, and upon that recognition many important advantages might be founded.

In 1775 the British ministry permitted some small relaxation of the restrictions on Irish commerce, by allowing the exportation of a few articles of manufacture, by granting bounties for the encouragement of the fisheries, and a premium of five shillings a barrel on imported flax seed. But these benefits were counteracted by the prohibition of exporting Irish provisions, to prevent supplies being conveyed to America.

In November of the same year, a message from the viceroy required the concurrence of the Irish commons with

the king's intention of sending 4,000 troops from Ireland to America with a promise of supplying their place by the same number of foreign protestant soldiers. No objection was offered in allowing the 4,000 men to go to America, but to the consternation of government the proposition for supplying their place with foreign protestants was rejected by a majority of 38, and followed up their triumph with an address to his excellency, assuring him that they would render such aid unnecessary for the defence of the kingdom by their own exertions.

The first octennial parliament had scarcely existed four years when the British cabinet found it expedient that it should be dissolved, which was done in April 1776. The new parliament met in June following, when it was prorogued, and continued so by several proclamations till October 17th, 1777. Lord Harcourt was recalled meanwhile, and his place supplied by the earl of Buckinghamshire. The growing spirit of patriotism in the Irish commons created uneasy sensations in the English cabinet. To counteract the party which threatened to be so formidable there, a numerous promotion to the peerage took place; five viscounts were added to the earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created on the same day.

Ministerial measures in parliament, however, could not conceal the distress of the nation; and such was its poverty that the militia law could not be carried into effect; she could not pay her forces abroad, and was forced to borrow money from England to pay those at home. A motion was made in the commons to raise £300,000. by a tontine at six per cent; the patriots contended that the country was too poor to raise this loan; the government on the other hand was confident. The former were right, however, and the attempt was a failure.

The distresses of Ireland were now so evident that, on the motion of earl Nugent in April 1778, in a committee of the British house of commons, to take into consideration the acts of parliament relative to the Irish trade, it was resolved, that, with the exception of wool and woollen manufacture, the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the foreign settlements of Great Britain all sorts of merchandise the property of the British islands, and foreign

goods legally imported and certified; to import *directly*, except tobacco, the products of those settlements; and to export glass to any place except Great Britain. The mercantile class of Britain, alarmed at these proceedings, sent petitions to parliament, and instructions to their representatives to oppose the extension of Irish trade; and such was the influence of these representations on parliament, that they ultimately negatived the bill founded on their own resolutions, and only a few trifling privileges were conceded.

A relaxation of the penal statutes against the catholics was also proposed in the English house of commons; the policy of which was acknowledged on all hands, and not a voice was raised in the cabinet or in the senate against the emphatic declaration of Burke, "that Ireland was now the chief dependance of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens." Accordingly, on the 25th of March, 1778, leave was moved by Mr. Gardiner in the Irish house of commons, for heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of Ireland, which was carried in the affirmative. The purport of the act was, that any catholic subscribing the oath of allegiance and declaration might take, enjoy, and dispose of a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years certain, or determinable on the dropping of five lives; that the lands then possessed by catholics should in future be descendible, deviseable, or alienable, as fully as if they were in the possession of any other subject of his majesty; and that it should no longer be in the power of a child to fly in the face of his parent by demanding a present maintenance out of the father's personal estate, or by depriving him totally of the inheritance of his real estate, as he before had been enabled to do by the statute of queen Anne. This bill was carried through the commons by a majority of nine, after a severe contest. In the lords it was carried by a majority of two-thirds; and thus was obtained the first important concession to the persecuted catholics. The session closed in August, 1778.

During 1779, the volunteer system commenced in Ireland, which furnishes an instance of military patriotism we might in vain look for in the annals of any other country.

These hosts of armed citizens, self-paid, self-armed, self-commissioned, not only protected Ireland, but for many years shed a glory round her. The south of Ireland was languishing under the embargo by which its provision trade was almost totally destroyed, while the north was equally suffering in its trade from the pressure of the American war. The little revenue which the country provided was necessarily impaired, which rendered it impossible to pay for the requisite defence of the kingdom. The town of Belfast, which had been visited eighteen years before by foreign invaders, had now reason to apprehend a similar calamity, when the coasts of Ireland were infested by American privateers, and when France was openly leagued with the American colonies in their revolt; in this state of things the inhabitants applied to government for protection against the common enemy; to which application sir Robert Heron, secretary to the lord-lieutenant candidly replied, that government could afford it none.

When thus abandoned to themselves, their spirit soon supplied the defects of the administration. Belfast, Antrim, and the adjacent counties, poured forth their armed citizens. The town of Armagh raised a body of men, at whose head was the patriotic lord Charlemont. The institution expanded daily, and a noble ardour was every where diffused. Government was astonished and beheld the effects of its own work. In little more than a year the volunteers amounted to 42,000 men. The duke of Leinster, the earl of Clanricarde, lord Charlemont, and several other noblemen and gentlemen of the highest stations, took upon themselves the command of this patriotic body.

The earl of Buckinghamshire convened the parliament, October 12th, 1779, when Mr. Grattan opposed the speech of the lord-lieutenant, as containing nothing satisfactory, and moved an amendment which showed the distressed state of the country, and maintained that the only remedy was to open a free export trade, and to allow his majesty's subjects to enjoy their natural birthright. Mr. Burgh, who was then prime serjeant, in order to deprive Mr. Grattan of the honour of carrying his amendment, proposed one exactly similar in spirit, which was agreed to unanimously. This was "it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be

saved from impending ruin." This address was carried by the speaker to the viceroy amid the acclamations of the people, between two lines of Dublin volunteers, commanded by the duke of Leinster, in arms and uniforms, which extended from the parliament-house to the castle. So spirited had been the conduct of the volunteer army throughout the kingdom that the house of commons voted them their unanimous thanks. A similar vote was passed in the upper house with only one dissentient voice.

The English parliament moved an address to his majesty praying him to take into consideration the two motions for procuring relief to Ireland which had been rejected the preceding session; and to direct effectual redress to his suffering people. All parties agreed that Ireland was in a state of extreme distress, all concurred in opinion that her distresses should be relieved; but while all were agreed nothing was done.

So determined had the Irish commons now become that they resolved to vote the bills of supply for six months only; and they were transmitted to England, and reluctantly passed. They likewise resolved that the exportation from Ireland of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places, would materially tend to relieve its distresses, and thus advance the strength of the British empire; and give new vigour to the Irish to stand forward in support of his majesty's person and government. And in order to assert and maintain their rights, in defiance of the endeavours in England to destroy, the commons resolved, that at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes, which was carried by a majority of 170 to 74.

The resolutions of the Irish parliament produced such an effect on the British government, that the house of commons being then in a committee on the affairs of Ireland, Lord North proposed to allow Ireland a free export of wool, woollens, and wool flock; a free exportation of glass; and a freedom of trade with the British settlements, on certain conditions, the basis of which was to be on an equality of taxes and customs. Bills founded upon the first two propositions were immediately brought in, passed both houses, and received the royal assent before the recess. The third was allowed to lie over, to afford time for consideration in Ireland.

Ireland had now extorted from England an acknowledgment of a principle vitally important to her interests; besides which, it afforded a practical proof of what might be accomplished by perseverance and a determined effort after just privilege and right. Lord North, however, in order to conciliate the jealousies of the British traders, had represented the measure as a boon resumable at pleasure; and a very general apprehension was entertained that it would be at some time or other resumed; the next step therefore was to consider what mode of averting it remained to be adopted; and the first that suggested itself was an Independent Legislature; and they soon learned to direct their endeavours to its attainment. The volunteers took a decisive part in this crisis. They openly declared their opinion, declaring a fixed determination to establish that independence.

The few patriots in the legislature, who still stood firm in their country's cause, at the head of which noble band the illustrious Grattan placed himself, were co-operating to produce the wish for independence in parliament. On the 19th of April, 1780, Mr. Grattan, in an eloquent speech never, perhaps, excelled in ancient or modern times, moved, that the house should resolve and enter on the journals "That no power on earth, save the king, lords and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland." Of this celebrated oration Mr. Hardy says that "the language of Milton or Shakespeare can alone describe its effects." Mr. Grattan, on being pressed by the government party to withdraw his motion, said, "he never would consent to withdraw the proposed declaration of right, when a great law officer had asserted that the parliament of England had a right to bind the people of Ireland. It was impossible to wave the declaration." The embarrassment of the house was at length put an end to by the honourable Hussey Burgh, who, at twenty minutes past six in the morning, moved "the house be adjourned," which was carried unanimously. Such was the termination of this effort in behalf of the legislative independence of Ireland. The Irish house of commons, however, upon some appearance of sincerity in the British cabinet, proceeded to take into consideration the regulations necessary to place the commerce of the kingdom on a secure footing;

and the supplies were granted for eighteen months longer. At length the session, which had been protracted to an unusual length, was prorogued September 2nd, 1780.

The administration of the earl of Buckinghamshire gave little satisfaction to the ministry at home, and he was recalled, lord Carlisle being appointed his successor, December 23rd, 1780; he did not, however, assemble the parliament till October, 1781, when it had become known that government was desirous of disarming the volunteers, though they dared not adopt the measures necessary for success. Various patriotic measures were introduced, which, though not always successful, served to demonstrate the feelings of the time; and so rapidly did the enthusiasm spread that the ministerial majorities were gradually diminished, till at last they were fairly defeated upon several questions. Among the measures now brought forward was one for leave to bring in heads of a *habeas corpus bill*, by the recorder of Dublin. Sir Lucius O'Bryen called the attention of the house to their freedom of trade with Portugal, where Irish manufactures were not allowed to be sold. Mr. Yelverton also gave notice, that after the recess he should move for leave to bring in heads of a bill to regulate the transmission of bills from that kingdom to England; which was intended to remedy part of the legislative evil arising from the operation of Poyning's law. Mr. Grattan made a motion for bringing in heads of a bill to explain, amend, and limit an act to prevent mutiny and desertion in the army; but it was negatived by a large majority. Mr. Gardiner intimated his intention of bringing forward a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics, which he hoped to model in such a shape that it would meet with the concurrence of all parties.

The volunteers now began to take a more decided part in the political transactions of the day. They now exceeded 50,000, well armed, and improved in tactics; they had enthusiastic notions of liberty, and assumed a leading station in the affairs of Ireland. They met at Armagh, and came to certain resolutions which they published throughout the province of Ulster and in Dublin. They appointed a meeting of delegates from the various corps throughout the kingdom, to be held at Dungannon on the 15th of February. The government took the alarm,

but could do nothing to check the evil they dreaded ; and the appointed day at last arrived, when representatives of one hundred and forty three corps of the volunteers in Ulster met at Dungannon. They were all persons of property. Among them were lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart, member for Tyrone ; and Mr. Dobbs, an eminent barrister. They agreed to several resolutions regarding their legislative independence, their right of trade to foreign countries, and a vote of thanks to the minority in parliament who had supported the constitutional rights. The meeting was held in the church ; and its moderation and patriotic character rejoiced the friends, while it disappointed the enemies of the volunteers, who hoped for some unconstitutional proceeding which might have served as a pretext for crushing the union altogether.

On the 22nd of February, Mr. Grattan moved in the house of commons for an address to the king, " to assure his majesty with unfeigned attachment to his person and government, that the people of Ireland were a free people ; the crown of Ireland a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, and that with one voice they protested against the interposition of any other parliament in its legislation. That the claim of the British parliament to legislate for Ireland was useless to England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law ; that, impressed with a high sense of the justice of the British character, and in reliance on his majesty's paternal care, they had set forth their right and sentiments without proscribing any mode to his majesty, and threw themselves on his royal wisdom." This motion was opposed by the attorney-general, who proposed its postponement till the 1st of August, which was carried by a majority of 137 to 68.

The catholic bills occasioned much debating in their progress. One was an act for the relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Roman catholic religion ; by which, catholics were enabled to take, hold, and dispose of lands and hereditaments in the same manner as protestants. It removed also several penalties from such of the clergy as should have taken the oath of allegiance and been registered, and repealed some of the most obnoxious parts of the acts passed in former reigns. Among these were the following which may serve to convey

some idea of the cruelties practised against the catholics. It repealed the power of a magistrate to fine and imprison every papist refusing to appear, and declare upon oath when and where he last heard mass, who celebrated and assisted at it, and the residence of any popish ecclesiastic; also the part which prohibited a papist from having a horse of the value of £5, under certain penalties; that which enabled the grand jury to present the reimbursing of all robberies and depredations of privateers, in time of war, upon the real and personal estates of the catholics within the county; that which subjected every catholic to certain penalties who did not provide a protestant watchman to watch in his turn; and that which subjected to certain penalties every catholic who should take or purchase a house in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs thereof. These are only a few of the disgraceful restrictions which the English government thought it necessary to impose. The second bill was "an act to allow persons professing the popish religion to teach schools in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of papists; and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children." Mr. Gardiner had a third bill, which was for establishing intermarriages between protestants and catholics; but it was negatived by a majority of eight. Although these and some other measures did not receive the royal assent during the viceroyalty of the earl of Carlisle, yet they may be considered as having passed during his administration, as did also some others, especially one for establishing a national bank in Ireland; and they were the last, for an important change in the councils of England was impending. That ill-fated ministry, which had debilitated the resources of the empire, which had lost America, which had added a hundred millions to the national debt, and which had caused the loss of so many thousand lives, was now tottering to its fall, and was soon overwhelmed.

The marquis of Rockingham, a whig nobleman, was appointed to form an administration. Every thing now appeared favourable for Ireland. The duke of Portland was appointed lord-lieutenant, and arrived in Dublin on the 14th, of April 1782. When the parliament met on the 16th, his majesty's principal secretary of state announced

that he was charged with a message from the lord lieutenant; the purport of which was to recommend the house to take into its consideration the discontents and jealousies prevailing in the country, with a view to their final adjustment. Mr. Ponsonby moved, "That a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious message and assuring him that his faithful commons would immediately proceed upon the great object he had recommended to their consideration." Mr. Grattan rose to move the following amendment, which he prefaced with a speech of great ability:—

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious message to this house, signified by his grace the lord lieutenant.

"To assure his majesty of our unshaken attachment to his majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies; to assure his majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a *free people*; that the crown of Ireland is an *imperial crown*, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland *is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof*; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords and commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland; to assure his majesty that we humbly conceive that in this *right*, the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

"To assure his majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act, entitled An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland; an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That

we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

"To assure his majesty, that his majesty's commons of Ireland, do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law, in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his majesty, under the great seal of Britain; but that yet we do consider the practise of suppressing our bills in the councils of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

"To assure his majesty, that an act, entitled an act for the better accommodation of his majesty's forces, being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

"That we have submitted these the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

"That we have the greatest reliance on his majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectation from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see with satisfaction his majesty has adopted.

"That we have moreover a high sense and veneration of the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they are in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

"And we beg leave to assure his majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, *standing and falling with the British nation.*"

Mr. Grattan's motion was unanimously carried, and a congratulatory address to the duke of Portland being voted, the house adjourned for three weeks, on the 4th of May, 1782, to allow time for deliberation in the British cabinet upon their claim to a declaration of rights. The great question was brought before both houses of the British parliament, May 17th. In the commons there was not a

dissentient voice; in the peers lord Loughborough alone made any opposition. The earl of Carlisle supported the measure and bore an honourable testimony to the zeal and loyalty of the Irish people, alluding particularly to the volunteers, who had made a tender of their services to the government when Ireland was threatened with invasion.

The Irish parliament met, according to adjournment, on the 27th of May, when the lord-lieutenant in a speech from the throne, informed them that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents and jealousies, and had united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in their late address to the throne. The speech having been read, Mr. Grattan bore testimony to the justice of parliament in repealing the obnoxious acts of parliament, by which the whole powers of government were vested solely in the king, lords and commons of Ireland; and the controlling power of the English parliament, and the practice of altering Irish bills in the privy council were renounced; they had acquired a constitution, and it was their duty to maintain it. He recommended that they should make an unconditional grant of £100,000. to England, for raising 20,000 Irish seamen for the British navy, which was agreed to. He next moved an address, dignified, and worthy of the cause to which it related. There were only two dissentient voices, and these were occasioned by the following sentence in the address, "That there will no longer exist any constitutional question between the two nations that can interrupt their harmony." The house divided upon these words, when the numbers were, for the address as it stood 211, against it 2.

Thus was accomplished this great revolution by means, and with a degree of moderation, perhaps never paralleled in any other country. Their cause was a sacred one, and they found many distinguished individuals to co-operate with them, and it was gained without a single act of violence being committed.

This great event was suitably celebrated, and a day of general thanksgiving was appointed to return thanks to Almighty God for that union, harmony, and cordial affection which had been happily brought about between the two kingdoms. No sooner was the address disposed of in

the house of commons. on the day already mentioned, than Mr. Bagnal, after having congratulated his country, Great Britain, his majesty, and his ministers, upon this attainment of the greatest political blessings, called upon the house of commons to confer some signal mark of a great and grateful nation upon the Liberator of their country, Henry Grattan, Esq. whose distinguished efforts in procuring their legislative independence had been conducted with so much wisdom. After some further eulogium, he gave notice, that he should, the next day, move that the house resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration what sum they should grant for the purchasing an estate, and building a suitable mansion for their illustrious benefactor, and his heirs for ever, as a testimony of their gratitude for the unequalled service he had done for the kingdom of Ireland. The committee met accordingly, and after some discussion fixed upon £50,000, which resolution was unanimously agreed to by the house; and at the same time resolved that an address should be presented to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, to lay before his majesty the humble request of that house, that he would direct such sum so to be appropriated, in testimony of the nation's gratitude for Mr. Grattan's eminent services, and that the house would make good the same.

It is but justice to the memory of that illustrious patriot, to record a circumstance connected with that vote, which is not generally known. It is contained in the following extract from a letter of lord Charlemont to his friend Dr. Halliday, dated Dublin, August 11th, 1782: "Respecting the grant, I know with certainty that Grattan, though he felt himself flattered with the *intention*, looked upon the act with the deepest concern, and did all in his power to deprecate it. As it was found impossible to defeat the design, all his friends, and I among others, were employed to lessen the sum. It was accordingly decreased by one half, and that principally by his positive declaration, through us, that if the whole was insisted on, he would refuse all but a few hundreds, which he would retain as an honourable mark of the goodness of his country. By some, who look only into themselves for information concerning human nature, this conduct will probably be construed into hypocrisy. To such the excellence and pre-eminency of

virtue and the character are as invisible and incomprehensible as the brightness of the sun to a man born blind." *Hardy's Life of Charlemont*. £100,000. was at first proposed to purchase an estate; but at his own request the vote was lowered, and £50,000. ultimately granted—a trivial sum for his services, but a signal honour, without a precedent, and without an example.

The general happiness diffused over the nation was but short lived. Two or three gentlemen, at the head of whom was Flood, who, upon being asked before the address was moved in the house as to any omission or addition if necessary, and then made no objection, now boldly declared that nothing was done, and that any measure short of an entire renunciation on the part of England to bind this country by English laws would be invalid and inefficient. A simple repeal would leave Ireland precisely where she was; and she might again be enslaved by the first corrupt minister who should choose to avail himself of the unsuspecting and too liberal conduct of Ireland. Within the walls of parliament almost all were content with the repeal, but out of doors these doctrines gained many proselytes. Mr. Grattan, in one of the debates which the agitation of this question produced, emphatically declared, "the nation that insists on the humiliation of another is a foolish nation." The contest was fiercely disputed in the commons and ended at length by a division on Mr. Flood's motion, for leave to bring in the heads of a bill for declaring the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, internal and external, for the kingdom of Ireland. The motion was negatived, however, there being six in the minority.

The marquis of Rockingham, the amiable leader of the whig party in England, died July 1st, 1782, and was succeeded by lord Shelburne, who in his ministerial arrangements fixed upon lord Temple to succeed the duke of Portland as lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The volunteers, meanwhile, proud of their exertions, and conscious of their power, proceeded to take proper measures for testifying their opinions upon the transactions we have been recording. Their body was much divided by the question of simple repeal and declaratory enactment. The doubts and suspicions of Flood had infected the minds

of many; but the moderate party for a time prevailed, and a resolution was almost unanimously carried for the simple repeal. At another meeting an address to his majesty was determined on, to express the opinion of three hundred and six companies of volunteers in favour of the simple repeal. It was carried unanimously; as was also one to the duke of Portland, and another to Mr. Grattan. But this unanimity was soon disturbed by the dissatisfaction of two corps in Belfast, which had been represented at Dungannon. Their delegates were traduced in the newspapers, and even Mr. Grattan became an object of virulent abuse. A review which was appointed to take place at Belfast was fast approaching, and the discontented resolved to make a stand. Every art was employed to increase their number, till every man who bore a musket became a legislator; Ireland was to be saved by them, and they alone were to pronounce the terms of her salvation. Success had made them proud, pride had made them factious, and faction rendered them foolish. The delegates assembled August 2nd, when an address was moved to lord Charlemont, in which was inserted a clause expressive of satisfaction with simple repeal; a debate ensued upon that clause, and after eleven hours of legislative mockery it was rejected by a majority of two. This was a short triumph obtained by the designing few who had planned it; those few, who bred under the patronage of court influences, wished to bring that independent ministry into disgrace which disdained to act upon so unconstitutional a basis. This repeal, which was complained of, was the Magna Charta of Ireland. It gave to the people freedom; and while it placed the sources of liberty in their own hands, it secured them from the tyranny of a foreign power, and secured to them a bulwark against any subsequent attempt to re-assert that power.

CHAPTER IX.

Administration of lord Temple. Succeeded by Northington. Parliamentary reform called for by the volunteers. Bill brought in by Mr. Flood, but refused. Duke of Rutland viceroy. Vigorous proceedings of government. The king's illness. The regency question. Westmoreland's administration. French revolution. Its influence. United Irishmen. Catholic relief. Proceedings in parliament. Catholic claims. Catholic delegates. Alarm excited by the system of delegation. Resolutions published against it. Formation of Clubs. Petition to the king.

LORD TEMPLE arrived in Ireland September 15th, 1782, and set himself earnestly to correct the many abuses which had crept into the management of public affairs; he took business as a pleasure: and such application, though he was not at the time more than thirty years of age, had never been witnessed at the castle. The dismay was terrible throughout all the public offices in Ireland, neither awed by situation or connexion; and all concerned shuddered to behold the ancient abodes of peculation on the point of being exposed. Lord Temple, however, went on fearless in the discharge of his duty; and it is only to be regretted that his stay was too short to render his plan of reformation permanently operative.

Lord Temple instituted the *Order of St. Patrick*, to gratify the Irish by a mark of national consequence. The king was always to be sovereign of this new order of knighthood, the viceroy officiating grand master, and the archbishop of Dublin chancellor. Among the knights were prince Edward, (afterward duke of Kent) the duke of Leinster, the earl of Courtown, and the earl of Charlemont. They were invested at the castle on the 11th of March, and on the 17th the festival of their tutelar saint, the ceremony of installation was performed with great magnificence.

The Irish parliament did not sit during the administration of lord Temple, consequently there remains little to record. In the beginning of 1783 the famous coalition

ministry, in which Fox and lord North joined their forces, was formed, and lord Temple resigned his post to the earl of Northington; and was escorted to the water side by the volunteers of Dublin, in uniform, as the only testimonial which it was in their power to give of their gratitude, affection, and reverence.

Soon after the arrival of lord Northington, a dissolution of parliament took place, July 15th, 1783. The volunteers now began to act a part, which lost them the confidence of all those respectable individuals who had hitherto co-operated with them, from a conviction that their object was honourable and their means constitutional. Taking upon themselves the merit of having done all that had been accomplished, and began to talk of the impolicy of laying down their arms while there remained any thing to obtain; and that something they found out to be a reform in parliament, which was at the same time agitating England.

A meeting of delegates from forty-five companies of the province of Ulster, in pursuance of a public requisition, July 1st, 1783, when it was unanimously resolved "That a general meeting of the volunteer delegates of the province of Ulster, on the subject of a more equal representation of the people, should be held at Dungannon on the 8th day of September;" and a great number of addresses, letters, and protests, connected with the question of parliamentary reform were issued. On the 8th of September the delegates of two hundred and seventy-two companies assembled at Dungannon. They published resolutions concerning the representation of the people, and elected five persons to represent each county in a national convention to be held in Dublin on the 10th of November, to which they invited the volunteers of the other provinces to send their delegates. The defects of which they complained were that of three hundred members composing the house of commons, only seventy-two were returned by the people, while fifty-three peers nominated one hundred and twenty-three, and influenced the election of ten members; and fifty-two commoners nominated ninety-one, and influenced the choice of three—a state of representation which certainly rendered some amelioration necessary to the welfare of the country.

The government looked on the proceedings of these military reformers with dismay, but could decide on no

course of conduct to prevent the approaching meeting. The parliament met on the 14th of October, when, in order to prevent any motion of a more questionable tendency, the government judiciously contrived that the thanks of the legislature to the volunteers for their spirited endeavours to provide for the defence of the country should be immediately voted. Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to lord Temple, their late viceroy, which was opposed by only three individuals, each of whom had been charged as public defaulters, or debtors to the king during lord Temple's short administration.

On the 28th of October, sir Henry Cavendish moved "That the condition of this country required practicable retrenchment consistent with the safety thereof, and with the honourable support of his majesty's government." This motion brought on a violent debate, in which the two rival orators, Flood and Grattan took a prominent part; which redounds so little to the credit of either; but the motion was lost by a majority of fifty-seven, in favour of government.

The 10th of November at last arrived, and delegates from all the provinces assembled at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, but on account of their number and the smallness of the place they removed to the Rotunda. Lord Charlemont, as president, led the way, accompanied by a troop of horse, the delegates following two and two. The convention now sat in form, and continued their deliberations for three weeks, when Mr. Flood arose about four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, November 29th, and proposed that he, accompanied by such members of parliament as were then present, should immediately go down to the house of commons, and move for leave to bring in a bill exactly correspondent to the plan of reform which he had submitted to the convention, which was accordingly agreed to. But the motion was rejected in the commons by a majority of one hundred and nine; the house at the same time resolved that an humble address should be presented to his majesty to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his majesty's auspicious government, and our present happy constitution; and at the same time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution

to support the same with our lives and fortunes." This address was immediately sanctioned by the lords ; and thus terminated this question, conducted, according to Mr. Hardy, " with a degree of license and tumult which only an Irish house of commons could have tolerated."

The first serious blow which the importance of the volunteer body received was from their conduct on the occasion of the convention, which was the immediate forerunner of the decline of this now ambiguous body. It had previously begun to decay, and its extinction was viewed with indifference.

The sitting of parliament still continued, and some popular motions were made ; among which were an absentee tax, a motion expressive of the necessity of retrenchment in the expenses ; as also one by Mr. Curran, " That it is the sole and undoubted privilege of the commons of Ireland to originate all bills of supply and grants of public money, in such manner and under such clauses as they should think proper ;" but these were all rejected.

On the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the premiership of Great Britain the Irish parliament adjourned, when lord Northington sent in his resignation and was succeeded by the duke of Rutland, who commenced Mr. Pitt's system, which ended in the union of the two countries. When the house met, according to adjournment, thirteen petitions were presented in one day from counties and populous cities, praying a reform in the representation of parliament. Mr. Flood also moved for leave to bring in a bill upon the same system, in which he vehemently urged that a reform was essential to the welfare of the country. The numbers were eighty-five for the motion and one hundred and fifty-nine against it ; which proved that the new administration was as opposed to this great measure as the preceding one had been. The revenue by Mr. Grattan, and the commerce by Mr. Gardiner, were brought under the notice of parliament ; these, together with a motion for restraining the license of the press, were the only measures of importance agitated during this session. The duke of Rutland prorogued parliament in a conciliatory speech May 4th, 1794.

The people, however, continued factious and discontented ; agitators still impelled the multitude and filled the country with their seditious clamours. The people were

principally irritated at the failure of parliamentary reform. Several excesses were committed in Dublin, and the members were attacked in their way to parliament, and the house itself violated by crowds forcing into the gallery. Among the excesses to which the populace resorted was the barbarous one (imported from America) of *tarring and feathering*, and a still more savage one, *houghing* the soldiers whenever any unfortunate stragglers could be surprised. This was done by the butchers of Dublin, a set of miscreants who required no other qualification for their horrible business, according to general Luttrell, "than a strong arm, a sharp knife, and a hard heart." The soldiery had been called in to suppress a tumult, when they exercised unnecessary rigour, and this diabolical retaliation was the consequence.

The principal objection that had been urged against Mr. Flood's bill for parliamentary reform was that it had originated with an armed body, and as such could not be received by the house. It was accordingly resolved that regular meetings should be convened by the sheriffs of the different counties and towns for the purpose of taking into consideration the necessity of amending the representative system. The first meeting was held in Dublin, where the high sheriff presided. Ten resolutions were agreed to, expressive of the necessity of a more equal representation, of the grievance of long parliaments, and of the excellence of annual ones. A committee was appointed to draw up an address which called upon the people to join them in obtaining a redress of their grievances, and proposing a national congress to be held at Dublin, on the 25th of October, "there to deliberate, digest, and determine, on such measures as might seem to them most conducive to re-establish the constitution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure to the inhabitants of the kingdom, peace, liberty, and safety." They also agreed upon a petition to the king, praying him to dissolve the parliament then existing, and "adopt with decision and effect whatever he should collect to be the sense of the people." This petition was presented to the lord-lieutenant, with an address to his excellency, requesting it might be transmitted. To this the viceroy replied that he would comply with their request in transmitting the petition to his majesty, but at the same

time he would not fail to convey his entire disapprobation of it.

Though the proceedings in Dublin were seconded in many other places throughout the country, the whole business was put an end to by government prosecutions. The high sheriff of Dublin was sentenced to fine and imprisonment by the court of king's bench, which checked the rising spirit of disaffection.

About this period the *white boys* again made their appearance in the south ; but they were soon reduced to order by the loyal efforts of the Roman catholic bishop of Ossory, and the clergy of his diocese, for which they received the acknowledgments of government.

Parliament met on the 28th of January, 1785 ; and on the 7th of February. the secretary of state for Ireland, laid before the house a series of propositions, the grand commercial regulations which had been digested during the recess, respecting the commerce of Ireland. These propositions were founded upon enlarged and liberal principles ; still they met with considerable opposition from Mr. Flood and others, because the surplus of the revenue was to go to the support of the empire at large. Moderate men, however, were satisfied, and they were finally agreed to ; and on February, 22nd, they were read in the British house of commons, where Mr. Pitt opened the business in a masterly speech. Meanwhile, the jealousy of the commercial towns of England was excited, and numerous petitions were presented. If ever Mr. Pitt was sincere in any cause it was this ; but he found it necessary to make considerable alterations, in consequence of the strong remonstrances of the manufacturers, the chief objects of which alterations were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British parliament should hereafter find it necessary to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland ; 2nd, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West India merchandises than such as were the produce of our own colonies ; and 3rdly, That Ireland should debar herself from any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the straits of Magellan so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

After a long discussion in the British parliament, the propositions were laid before the Irish legislature, August 12th, when an animated discussion ensued, and upon the division there appeared for leave to bring in the bill 127, against it 108. Such a majority in the very commencement of the measure was equivalent to a defeat, and in that light the ministry considered it. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Curran distinguished themselves in the several stages of the discussion. The latter thus characteristically described the individuals, to whose exertions it had been chiefly owing, that the measure was finally abandoned:—"Nor let us forget in our exultation, to whom we are indebted for the deliverance. Here stood the trusty mariner (Mr. Conolly) on his old station, the mast head, and gave the signal. Here (Mr. Flood) all the wisdom of the state was collected, exploring your weakness and your strength, detecting every ambuscade and pointing to the hidden battery, that was brought to bear on the shrine of freedom. And there (Mr. Grattan) was exerting an eloquence more than human, inspiring, forming, directing, animating to the great purposes of your salvation."

The whole nation partook of the triumph of the senate, and testified its joy by public illuminations.

The patriotic members of parliament made a vigorous attack on the pension list, in 1786, and Mr. Forbes, after an animated speech, moved "that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress." After an interesting debate, the motion was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. Mr. Grattan supported the motion with all his eloquence, and observed, "Should I affirm that the pension list is not a grievance, I should affirm in the face of my country an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie;" while Mr. Curran likewise supported the motion in a speech containing an admirable specimen of his sarcastic humour, in which he says "This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbly herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates forms its greater perfection.—it

teaches that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they have earned it. It teaches the dissolute and idle to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field—they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine it teaches a lesson which indeed they might have learned from Epictatus—that it is good sometimes not to be over virtuous." This speech delivered in the Irish parliament, in 1786, would not be out of place in the British house, in 1850, when all classes of her majesty's subjects are exclaiming against the unjust and intolerable burdens imposed by the iniquitous pension list.

Fresh disturbances in Munster distinguished the year 1787. The insurgents were called *Right-boys*, from their leader Captain Right, who it would appear had acted contrary to his name. The subject was submitted to parliament, who appointed a committee to take the question into consideration. The attorney-general detailed a series of curious facts, concerning these tumults which arose from the old cause, exorbitant rents, and exorbitant tithes. The insurgents proceeded with much method, going from parish to parish swearing in the inhabitants. Reformation of tithes was the first object they had in view; binding themselves by oath only to pay a certain price per acre, not to take them from the minister beyond that price, and neither to assist or allow him to be assisted in drawing the tithe. These proceedings only paved the way for others of a more dangerous character: regulating the price of lands, raising the price of labour, and opposing the collection of taxes. The attorney-general declared he was well acquainted with Munster, and it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable tenantry in that province, who were ground to powder by relentless landlords. Their miseries were intolerable, but they did not originate with the clergy, nor could the legislature allow them to take redress into their own hands. He therefore moved that further provisions by statute are necessary to prevent

tumultuous risings, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering and taking illegal oaths. A bill was accordingly brought in to this effect, after much opposition by the patriots, who objected to it as deviating from the English riot act.

In October, 1787, the duke of Rutland, lord-lieutenant, died, in consequence of excessive dissipation of every kind. He was in his thirty-second year, and was beloved for his social qualities; but his political proceedings did not give much contentment to his people. His successor was the marquis of Buckingham (formerly earl Temple) who was appointed a second time to the vice-royalty. Those individuals who lived and fattened upon public abuses, recollecting his former vigilance, beheld his approaching arrival with anything but comfortable feelings; nor were their fears without reason. He carried his scrutiny into all the departments of the castle, where the system of peculation was enormous. From a fraudulent plan long established, clerks with not more than a hundred pounds a year, were able to live in splendid style. Struck with panic at the viceroy's examination of their accounts, some of the defaulters fled the kingdom, some by entreaties and promises eluded the punishment their crimes deserved, while others chose the more horrible refuge of suicide.

The marquis of Buckingham convened the parliament in January, 1788; and the first subject brought before them was the tithe system. The evils felt in the levying of this tax were insupportable. They prevailed generally in the south, and there consequently originated all those tumults which had so long agitated the country. The mode of collection was no less oppressive than the tithe itself. Mr. Grattan on the present occasion, with his usual eloquence, disclosed the evil in all its native deformity; he stripped of all its insidious coverings, and showed the country and the world what monstrous iniquities were transacting under the eye, nay, with the very sanction of the law. He continued to bring the question before parliament; but his most brilliant effort was on the 14th of July, 1788, when he moved for a committee to inquire into the alleged grievances in the raising of tithes. No extract from this speech which comprehends a history, could convey any

adequate impression, which to be known must be read, and to read must be to admire it.

The county of Armagh was again disturbed in 1788, by the increased animosities and outrages of the *peep-of-day-boys* and the *defenders*. They had been augmenting for some years. Originally they were all presbyterians, but in process of time having been joined by some catholics they became indiscriminately denominated papists, thus adding religious fanaticism to civil disorder. The protestants took the alarm and committed many wanton excesses. The law being still in force against the catholics possessing arms, the protestants visited their houses in search of these forbidden arms, and frequently trespassed against the laws they affected to uphold. These domiciliary visits were commonly made early in the morning: hence those who made them were called *peep-of-day-boys*. Those who were the objects of such inquisitorial proceedings styled themselves *defenders*. Personal feuds became general quarrels; and in process of time whole districts embraced, as a party matter, what, in the beginning, was merely individual contention.

The Irish parliament met on the 5th of February, 1789, and it was moved by the secretary of state that they should adjourn till the 16th, when both houses should take the state of the nation into their consideration. Mr. Grattan, however, moved as an amendment, the 11th instead of the 16th which was carried by a majority of fifty-four. They met on the 11th accordingly, and the great question of the day—rendered necessary on account of the malady under which the king then laboured—the regency was discussed. It had previously been endeavoured, by ministerial influence, to secure a majority who might adopt similar measures to those acted upon in England, with respect to the regency, but the attempt failed, and the minister was left in a minority. Ireland was proud of the opportunity of exercising on this important occasion the legislative independence which she had acquired: and it was to be expected that she would, on this particular question, exhibit a proof of her freedom. Mr. Grattan therefore concluded an able speech by moving, that an humble address be presented to his royal highness, the prince of Wales, to take upon himself the government of this realm, during the

continuance of his majesty's indisposition, under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction and prerogatives to the crown and the government thereof belonging. This motion was carried without a division. A similar motion was made in the house of lords by lord Charlemont, and carried by a majority of nineteen.

This address, forced upon the ministry, met with every official obstruction; and the lord-lieutenant refused to transmit it to his royal highness. In consequence of this refusal, Mr. Grattan moved that a competent number of persons should be appointed to present it to his royal highness, which was carried by a majority of fifty-six. The lords appointed the duke of Leinster and lord Charlemont, and the commons Messrs. Conolly, O'Neil, Ponsonby, and Stewart, commissioners to present the address to the prince of Wales. They arrived in London, February 25th, and presented their address to his royal highness at Carlton house, the following day; but the recovery of his majesty rendered it of no avail.

No other event of importance occurred during the administration of the marquis of Buckingham. He had become extremely unpopular, and notwithstanding his boasted principles of economy he had resorted to a very liberal scheme of corruption; he increased the pension list £13,000 a year; and resumed (if resumable) all places of profit that were in the possession of those who had supported the address to the prince of Wales; while he bestowed extraordinary favour upon those who opposed it. A creation of eight peerages took place, and numerous appointments were made, among which was the elevation of the attorney-general (Fitzgibbon) to the office of lord chancellor—the first Irishman who had ever been raised to that dignity.

His increasing unpopularity and hopelessness of ever regaining that confidence he had formerly enjoyed, induced him to think of his departure, and he accordingly left Dublin June 30th, 1793, when the new chancellor and Mr. Foster, the speaker, were sworn in lords justices.

The earl of Westmoreland was appointed to the viceregency, and he met the Irish parliament January 21st, 1790. When the address was moved, Mr. Grattan strongly

expressed his disapprobation of the preceding administration, and drew the following picture of its most prominent features.

"Such has been the conduct of your reformer. This was the man. You remember his entry into the capital trampling on the hearse of the duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car drawn by public credulity, on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many mouthed profession; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people, and with a double tongue speaking contradictory languages. The minister alights: justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and speculation faints with idle alarms. He finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police—he continues it; he finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list—he increases it; he finds the house of commons swarming with placemen—he multiplies them; he finds the salary of the secretary increases to prevent a pension—he grants a pension; he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments and by compensations to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee, his brother, he finds the government at different times had disgraced itself by creating sinecures to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one to another brother; he finds the second council to the commissioners put down because useless—he revives it; he finds the boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact—he divides them; he finds three resolutions declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine; he finds the country has suffered by some speculations in the ordnance—he increases the salaries of officers, and gives the places to members of parliament."

Nothing of consequence was effected during this session, and it was prorogued April 5th, and dissolved on the 8th. The new parliament was summoned to meet on the 29th of May, but it was prorogued till the 10th of July, when it met for the dispatch of business. The session only lasted fourteen days, and the only purport of its sitting was to obtain a vote of credit for £200,000.; when that was accomplished it was prorogued, and did not again meet till January 20th, 1791.

The interval was employed by the viceroy in endeavours

to obtain popularity, while his secretary was sent to England in order to concert measures with the minister there for the next parliamentary campaign. One of the methods used by the earl of Westmoreland in his search for popularity was, that both he and his countess always appeared clad in Irish manufactures on all solemn occasions.

In 1791 the principles upon which the French revolution had been accomplished, began to produce visible effects in the British dominions. Liberty was the fond word that beguiled the admirers of that revolution; and England might have perished in the madness of popular regeneration, if one man, great in his means, and still greater in his ends, had not arose, and saved his country from utter destruction. That man was William Pitt, who foresaw the misery a deluded people was preparing for themselves; and unawed by threats, unmoved by clamour, he fearlessly wielded the destinies of his country in a perilous moment, and happily saved her.

Ireland did not escape the prevailing madness; and we come now to record some transactions which originally sprung from that madness, and disgraced and afflicted the country for many years.

On the 11th of February, 1791, a meeting of the general committee of the catholics was held at Dublin when they came to the resolution of applying to parliament for such relief as in its wisdom and justice it might grant. But the seeds of discord were sown, and about threescore of the principal country gentlemen, in conjunction with the earl of Fingall, and some of the dignified and other clergy had seceded from the committee, under an apprehension of its not being unfriendly to the principles of the French revolution. This did much mischief to the catholics, who now became divided into aristocratic and democratic parties; a distinction which furnished their enemies with a watchword to misrepresent whatever was sincere in their pretensions. When those respectable individuals seceded from the catholic committee, it afforded an opportunity for those disturbers of peace who are always ready to act upon the slightest appearance of dissension, to make a tender of their services to the catholic committee, and published strong resolutions declaring the absolute necessity for

abrogating all penal laws against the catholics, which could not but excite the vigilance of government.

The impulse was now given. The remaining vigour of the volunteer associations was now enlisted in the cause of universal freedom. The next step was the circulation in Dublin of a paper purporting to contain the design of an association at Belfast, to be called the Society of United Irishmen. The Roman catholics, in June of the same year, published a declaration of their tenets and claims, in order to remove prejudices and excite the exertions of their friends. A Society of United Irishmen was formed in Dublin in November. Their declaration was similar to that of Belfast, but they annexed a test to it.

Parliament met on the 19th of January, 1792, and on the 25th, Sir Hercules Langrishe rose to bring forward some resolutions in favour of the catholics. The speech with which he prefaced his motion wanted neither eloquence nor argument. He recapitulated the various concessions that had at different times been made to the catholics, and argued from these the policy of extending those concessions. To what extent they should be carried appeared to him the only subject that could divide the opinion of the house, for he apprehended there must be a unanimity of opinion as to the principle itself. He submitted the following propositions:

1st, He would give the practice and the profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country.

2nd, He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained; because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity: that would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a license as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3rd, He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage; repealing that cruel statute, which served to betray female credulity, and bastardise the children of a virtuous mother.

4th, He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade. He then moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill for removing certain restraints and disabilities, under which his majesty's

Roman catholic subjects labour from statutes already in force;" the motion was agreed to without opposition.

Mr. O'Hara expressed his entire approbation of what had been done, and suggested that the house should endeavour to ascertain what the catholics wished in the way of concession, which would enable them to legislate upon a more secure basis; and for that reason he had acceded to the request of a particular friend, who was not a catholic, that he would lay a petition before the house which contained that information. He did not know the petitioners, but he was assured by his friend that they were, altogether, worth upwards of a million; a fact which denoted their respectability. The solicitor-general said the petition in its present state could be no object of notice, and he should therefore move an adjournment. Mr. Grattan supported the receiving the petition, and, stimulated by the uncourteous treatment which a petition signed by so numerous and respectable a body was likely to experience, concluded an eloquent speech with the following words, "Whatever you give to Roman catholics, give it liberally; whatever you refuse, refuse decently; whatever you do, do it with discretion; whatever you say, let it be the language of good manners." The petition was withdrawn on account of its informality.

The general committee of the Roman catholic body was anxious to co-operate with Sir Hercules Langrishe; and on the 4th of February they entered into a series of resolutions, calculated to counteract misrepresentation and calumny; but on the very day that these moderate resolutions were agreed to, Sir Hercules introduced his bill which was read and ordered to be printed. The great body of the catholics, however, was but little satisfied with the provisions of this bill, as they suspected that one more comprehensive had been originally intended, but modified in consequence of the intrigues of some artful people. To remove certain prejudices, therefore, the committee, while the measure was in progress through the legislature, drew up a petition, which was signed by fifty of the most respectable commercial gentlemen in Dublin. It was presented to the house by Mr. Egan, and ordered to lie on the table. This petition did not accomplish its object, for when the question came to be discussed, the members limited their

motions of concession to the propositions laid down in the bill, which finally passed without any important alteration.

Parliament was prorogued on the 13th of April, when his excellency assured both houses "that he had his majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that had guided their proceedings during the present session, especially in the liberal indulgences they had afforded to their Roman catholic brethren."

This speech from the throne was a convincing proof that the British cabinet was more favourable to the claims of the Irish catholics than many of their own countrymen, and they determined to persevere in their efforts; and to counteract the influence of many insidious reports which were industriously circulated, the general committee adopted a plan at once dignified, moderate, and becoming. They published the following declaration, which was signed by the catholics, clergy and laity throughout the kingdom, and received the approbation of their supporters, while it silenced many of their opponents.

"Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

"Now, we, the catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration.

"1st, We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation as wicked and impious; and we declare that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or any prelates or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever;

can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty king George the Third, who is by authority of parliament the lawful king of this realm.

"2nd, We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics, and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act in itself unjust, immoral or wicked, can ever be justified or excused, by or under the pretence or colour, that it was done, either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.*

"3rd, We further declare that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that *no faith is to be kept with heretics.* This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty. and it is our firm belief that an oath made to any person not of the catholic religion is equally binding as if it were made to any catholic whatsoever.

"4th, We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man.

"Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all repugnant to the true spirit of the catholic religion.

"5th, We do further declare that we do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly within this realm.

"6th, After what we have renounced, it is immaterial in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the pope: however, for greater satisfaction we declare that it is not an article of the catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or

profess that *the pope is infallible*, or that we are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, we hold that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

"7th, We further declare, that we do not believe, that any sin whatsoever, committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbours property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

"8th, We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interests in and title to all forfeited lands, resulting from any rights or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title as a foundation of right, which is not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously take an oath to defend to the utmost of his power, the arrangement of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.

"9th, It has been objected to us that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a catholic establishment in its stead: now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention, and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the protestant religion, or protestant government in this country.

These unequivocal declarations ought certainly to have quieted the alarm of the most credulous of their opponents, and tended to facilitate the accomplishment of their most earnest desires. But so numerous were the objects they wished to obtain that no relaxation in their efforts could be permitted. It was necessary that their own zeal should at least be equal to that displayed by their opponents; and therefore, in addition to these solemn declarations, they considered it essential to the success of their cause to adopt some plan which should satisfy the protestants that they spoke the language and sentiments of the whole catholic population. To accomplish this purpose, it was evident that no better plan could be adopted than that of delegation, and the committee, therefore, devised and circulated a mode of nominating delegates with explicit directions, which were forwarded, with a circular letter, throughout the whole kingdom.

This plan, which was intended to allay the suspicion of government and the alarm of the protestants, was no sooner promulgated than every hireling of government, every factious individual, every weak and credulous being in the country, shouted sedition, conspiracy, and tumult. Grand juries thundered forth their anathemas, meetings were held to devise plans of safety, and the ferment was increased by persons, high in office, from whom other things might have been expected. The high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Louth led the way by publishing resolutions declaring that to impart the elective franchise to the catholics was incompatible with the protestant establishment and the Hanoverian succession; and were indignant at the presumption of the catholics in calling their disabilities grievances. The county of Meath followed the example, and boldly affirmed that *the catholics felt no grievances*. The counties of Mayo and Fermanagh joined in the cry, and the general alarm was echoed from all quarters, by a hireling press, devoted to the interests of the castle. Counter resolutions and addresses were issued by some grand jurymen more free from bigotry than their brethren, so that the whole nation was in a state of disorder. The catholic committee published a formal vindication of their principles from the charges made against them.

A very few years ago the catholics of Ireland hardly dared to allude to their grievances lest they should offend some minion of the government: but now, they spoke out and with a lofty tone, they fearlessly appealed to the justice of their protestant countrymen; but they were obnoxious to the government on account of their connexion with the United Irishmen and other political clubs, and the committee frequently expressed their gratitude for the liberal and warm exertions of these societies in their behalf. In thus identifying themselves with a body of men whose proceedings were decidedly hostile to government, at a time too when the greatest alarm prevailed as to the spread of French principles, principles which the United Irishmen openly applauded, the catholics injured their cause. Yet they were not inattentive to what might be of benefit to it; for at the express desire of Mr. Pitt, who was at that time contemplating some relief to the English catholics, and requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the catholic clergy and the catholic universities abroad, "with respect to the existence and extent of the pope's dispensing power," they procured satisfactory answers to the three queries propounded by the premier from the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Douay, Salamanca. and Valladolid.

By the publication of these articles they conceived they had removed every objection on the score of religion. But in this they found themselves disappointed, and had to continue their struggle against multiplying hostilities of power and office. They took the opinion of king's counsel upon the legality of their plan of delegation, which was favourable, and the nomination of delegates went on briskly throughout the kingdom. Their first meeting was held in Taylor's hall, Back-lane, Dublin, on the 2nd of December, 1792; hence they were called the Back-lane parliament.

A new military body made its appearance in Dublin, called the national guard, which still more alarmed the Irish government. They wore a green uniform, with a harp engraved on the buttons, surmounted by a cap of liberty; a sufficiently significant emblem. The guards were extremely popular with the lower classes. The spirit

of dissatisfaction was not confined to the capital, but widely spread over the country. The pernicious system of *defenderism* had been confined to Armagh and Louth; but it now visited Meath where interminable feuds prevailed. The peep-of-day-boys, however, prevailed over the defenders, and an indiscriminate persecution of the catholics followed.

Reforming clubs were the epidemic of the time. Associations were formed in England professing for their object the accomplishment of civil freedom, and countenanced by names of high authority. "The Friends of the People" was one of these. Scotland formed similar associations; and one was established in Dublin under the high-sounding name of "The Society of the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace." The duke of Leinster, and several of the leading opposition members belonged to this society, the spirit of which was manifested in a declaration which every person becoming a member was called on to subscribe, viz. "I solemnly promise and declare that I will, by all lawful means, promote a radical and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament, including persons of all religious persuasions, and that I will unceasingly pursue that object until it shall have been unequivocally obtained; and seriously apprehending the dangerous consequences of certain levelling tenets and seditious principles, which have lately been disseminated, I do further declare, that I will resist all attempts to introduce any new form of government into this country, or in any manner to subvert or impair our constitution, consisting of king, lords, and commons." The concluding sentiment expressed at least their confidence in that constitution and rendered this society less obnoxious to the government.

Meanwhile, the catholics, confident in the favour of the English cabinet to their claims, drew up a petition to the king, in which they stated their grievances at full length, and delegated five gentlemen to present it to his majesty; they were introduced by the home secretary and had the honour of delivering the petition of the Irish catholics to the king in person, who received it most graciously. This petition was signed by Drs. Troy and Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the several delegates.

The first remarkable feature that distinguished the year 1793, was the concession by government of several questions which had been hitherto resisted. Mr. Grattan again introduced parliamentary reform, and procured the appointment of a committee to inquire what remedies were required. Several other measures tending to conciliate the people were passed. A catholic relief bill was brought into parliament by the secretary of state, and passed both houses. By this measure catholics were placed nearly in the same political situation with the protestants, except that they still remained excluded from sitting in parliament, from being members of the privy council, from holding the office of sheriff and some other offices under the crown specified in the act; and that their voluntary contributions constituted the sole support of the clergy. Among the points conceded was the elective franchise. The session was prorogued on the 16th of August, and the viceroy declared that "the wisdom and liberality with which they had attended to his majesty's recommendation in favour of his Roman catholic subjects were highly pleasing to the king."

The government resolved upon adopting some strong measures against the popular societies, and their victim was A. Hamilton Rowan, secretary to the United Irishmen of Dublin, and his alleged offence was the publication of a seditious pamphlet, addressed to the volunteers of Ireland. He was ably defended by Curran, but after a trial of ten hours he was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be imprisoned for two years, and to find security for his good behaviour, himself in £2,000 and two sureties in £1,000. each.

Parliament met on the 21st of January; but nothing worthy of recording was done, and it was prorogued in March following. The government became justly alarmed at the spirit of discontent which was spreading over the country. *Defenderism* expanded rapidly; the Right-boys became more daring; and the United Irishmen assumed a language which displeased even the friends of constitutional reform. Hamilton Rowan effected his escape from prison, and the Rev. Mr. Jackson, a protestant clergyman, was committed on a charge of high treason.

The accession of a large part of the whigs to Mr. Pitt this year promised much good to Ireland. When these proselytes were provided for it became necessary to pay some attention to the disturbances in Ireland. The earl of Westmoreland was recalled, and the earl Fitzwilliam was appointed his successor. The people of Ireland were sanguine in their hopes, especially as some of the leading members of opposition were invited over to England by Mr. Pitt, to concert upon the measures to be adopted.

CHAPTER X.

Lord Fitzwilliam viceroy. His popularity. The catholic bill introduced by Mr. Grattan. Debate. Recall of lord Fitzwilliam, who is succeeded by earl Camden. Proceedings of the United Irishmen. Proceedings of government. Symptoms of rebellion. Organisation of the Irish union. Negotiations with the French. Memoir of the rebels falls into the hands of government. Lord Castlereagh. Seizure of delegates. Lord Edward Fitzgerald apprehended. The rebellion of 1798. Details.

LORD FITZWILLIAM commenced his government by dismissing several individuals from office, which created alarm at the castle. He met the parliament January 22nd, 1795, and in his speech alluded to the critical situation of the British empire, and called upon them to afford their aid. Mr. Grattan moved the address which was carried without a division. The catholic question immediately after occupied the attention of parliament; and on the 24th Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the catholics of Dublin, praying for a repeal of all the penal laws still affecting the catholics of Ireland; and on the 25th of February he obtained leave to bring in the bill which was opposed by three dissentient voices only.

The measures pursued by lord Fitzwilliam were not agreeable to Mr. Pitt; and rumours of his intended removal began to spread. The extraordinary sum of £1,700,000. had been voted for carrying on the war, and it was now considered that this appointment was only a political juggle to induce the Irish parliament to vote such a sum. The parliament and the country were equally indignant. After a viceregency of little more than two months, lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and the day of his departure from Ireland was one of general gloom; "the shops were shut, no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side by some of the respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance."

The successor of lord Fitzwilliam was earl Camden, but

his reception was peculiarly ungracious ; it was even found necessary to call out the military to prevent outrage. On the 13th of April, when a congratulatory address was moved upon his arrival, Mr. Grattan said he felt more inclined to condole with the country on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, than to congratulate it on the appointment of lord Camden ; the address passed, however, without a division. The second reading of the catholic bill came on May 4th, when the attorney-general moved that it should be rejected. A lengthened debate took place, when it was urged for the first time that the king could not give his assent to such a bill without violating his coronation oath. At ten o'clock in the morning the house divided when it was rejected by a majority of seventy one. This was the only measure of importance agitated during the session, and parliament was prorogued, June 5th.

The discontents of the people manifested themselves more and more, during the recess ; violent outrages were committed ; the chancellor was wounded in his carriage by a stone thrown at his head ; and the house of Mr. Beresford was assailed. The various political societies now began to shield themselves from the observation of government by administering oaths of secrecy. Their ostensible object was parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation, which seduced many persons to join with them, who would have disclaimed all connexion had they been aware of the full extent of their traitorous designs. Dr. M'Nevin, Emmett, and O'Connor were active members of these societies, which tended greatly to the alarm of the government.

Religious feuds were also added to political animosity. In the north, the *peep-of-day-boys* renounced that appellation, and assumed a more imposing title ; they called themselves *Orange Men*, professing to support the constitution as established by William III. These sectaries were at first but few in number, but they gradually increased, and orange lodges were spread over a considerable part of Ireland. They too, had their oath, which was said to be very intolerant.

In the midst of these disturbances, parliament was convened January 21st, 1796, when in the speech from the throne, it was strongly recommended to them to provide

for the safety and tranquility of the country now so endangered by the formation of secret societies, some of whose plans had been detected in consequence of a prosecution carried on against individuals connected with them. Two bills were accordingly brought in by the attorney-general, for preventing insurrection, tumult, and riots, and for indemnifying magistrates acting against the law. He also moved certain strong resolutions, declaring that the spirit of conspiracy and outrage manifested in certain parts required that more effectual powers should be given to the magistracy. These consisted in enabling magistrates to search for arms, ammunition, &c. preventing the assembling of large bodies, and apprehending all persons not having any known or visible means of obtaining a livelihood. These resolutions were prefaced with a minute detail of the outrages committed during the four preceding years by the *defenders*: but not a word was said of the violent persecutions carried on by the Orange-men. Mr. Grattan, however, supplied that deficiency, and drew an animated picture of the hostile spirit which animated that body who "committed massacre in the name of God, and exercised despotic power in the name of liberty." Many wanton barbarities were undoubtedly exercised by the protestants against the catholics, who were frequently tried by committees and sent on board a man-of-war; while several of the magistrates of the county of Armagh refused to take the examination of the injured catholics. It was generally believed that 7,000 had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, while the ferocious banditti who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the government. Notwithstanding these startling facts, the resolutions of the attorney-general passed, and the parliament was prorogued on the 15th of April.

The United Irishmen about this time gained considerable strength from their coalition with the Defenders of Down and Antrim; which connection afterwards extended to other counties. There were some few points upon which both bodies were unanimous; but the former aimed at things beyond the views of the Defenders, who wanted that complete organization which the United Irishmen had established—the United Irishmen in fact projected an entire separation from England. The whole number of

the united body in 1796, amounted to 500,000 men, the greater part of whom were now trained to arms. The military who were sent to the north to preserve order, committed many outrages; and the disaffected were stung to madness at the protection granted by government to Colonel Sparrow, who committed the most wanton excesses; and upon his trial at the assizes of Armagh he was found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas; but when called up to receive sentence he produced the king's pardon to the court, and was immediately liberated. Government likewise countenanced the Orange-men.

The parliament was convened on the 13th of October, in consequence, as they were informed by the viceroy, of a threatened invasion of Ireland by the French. The lord-lieutenant also took notice in his speech of the disturbances in the north. Mr. Grattan objected to the speech because it contained nothing tending to conciliate the people. The Habeas Corpus act was suspended during this session by a majority of one hundred and thirty.

The rumour of a French invasion was not without foundation. The French directory having received an account of the state of affairs from an Irish emigrant, a proposal was made of an armament from France for the political disruption of Ireland from the British government. The leaders of the Irish union, after a consultation, notified their acceptance of the offer on condition that the invading army should act as auxiliaries under the orders and pay of the society, which, on gaining their cause, should reimburse the whole expense of the armament. Preparations were accordingly made for an expedition from Brest, but the effective co-operation of the traitors at home was partially defeated by various accounts which they received as to the time when their treasonable succour would be wanted.

The squadron destined for Ireland consisted of 25 ships of the line. The land forces were under the command of general Hoche, one of the ablest officers in the French service. This formidable armament sailed on the 16th of December; but a seeming interposition of Providence took place, similar to what occurred when the Spanish armada dared to menace the British shores. A storm arose, which disabled some of the ships, while others were totally destroyed by being driven upon the rocks at the mouth

of the harbour as they were leaving it; the tempest continued with more or less fury during the whole time of the expedition. Seventeen of their vessels, including ten ships of the line, under admiral Bouvet, anchored in Bantry bay on the 24th. A reconnoitring party was sent on shore but the peasants made the whole of them prisoners. The French officers were eager to land with what troops they had; but the admiral would not consent until the general who had separated from his part of the fleet, should arrive. After remaining for some days, and despairing of the arrival of Hoche, the admiral returned to Brest, and all the divisions of the scattered navy ultimately regained that port, with the exception of two ships of the line and three frigates, one of which was captured, one run on shore, and three foundered.

The loyalty exhibited by the Irish on this occasion was held out as a cause why conciliatory measures should be adopted in their favour. There also existed at this period a strong persuasion that his royal highness the prince of Wales would be appointed lord lieutenant, as it was known the prince had made an offer of his services, in the hope that his popularity in Ireland might be able to allay the disaffection of that country. He proposed at the same time to take over with him earl Moira as commander in chief of the forces; but, as if nothing should be done to conciliate, the proposal was rejected.

Mr. Grattan, on the 17th of February 1797, again brought before parliament the question of catholic emancipation, but it was now opposed by many who had formerly supported and who, though favourable to the principle, considered that as an improper time for introducing the discussion. This was the last time that question was brought before the Irish parliament. Mr. Secretary Pelham next communicated to the house "that two committees of United Irishmen in Belfast, had been arrested and their papers seized, which contained matter of so much importance to the public welfare that his excellency had directed them to be laid before the house of commons for their consideration. That he should in the meantime pursue those measures which had received their sanction and approbation with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entrusted to him in the most efficient manner, for the protection of his

majesty's faithful subjects against all treasonable designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who were endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and betray that country into the hands of the enemies." Mr. Pelham then proposed that they should be referred to a committee; which motion was carried, and a committee of fifteen appointed. They gave in their report to the house on the 10th of May, the substance of which was, that there did actually exist an alarming conspiracy for the purpose of overturning the constitution, confiscating property, and destroying the possessions of it, and that it was indispensably necessary to employ the most stringent measures to meet the threatened evil.

A motion on parliamentary reform was brought forward meanwhile, by Mr. Ponsonby who concluded an able speech by submitting five resolutions comprehending the usual topics of redress. A warm and animated debate ensued, but the ministry obtained a majority, many persons friendly to the principle, considered it an improper time to make concessions, and voted accordingly. Mr. Grattan took a conspicuous share in the debate, and concluded an eloquent oration in the following words. "We have offered you our measure, you will reject it; we deprecate yours; you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty to ourselves and to our country, we shall trouble you no more, and from this day shall not attend the house of commons."

The agents of government now openly pursued their plan of subduing the discontented, and imprisoned many people of respectability on secret information or suspicion, without benefit of trial; several districts in the north were proclaimed, and numbers of the peasantry sent on board men-of-war. General Lake, commander-in-chief in the north, was authorised by secretary Pelham to make use of the troops under his command for the preservation of the peace, at his own discretion; and the general accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1797, published a proclamation, commanding a surrender of arms, and promising inviolable secrecy and rewards to informers. The troops were so disposed as to search all suspected places, and to prevent unlawful assemblies, especially after a certain hour in the night, when all persons found out of their own houses without

authority, were liable to punishment. But this was not all the means used to inflame the public mind. A newspaper published at Belfast, called *The Morning Star*, was the only paper into which seditious matter, calculated to increase the spirit of tumult, was admitted. The proprietors had been committed to prison under the suspension of the habeas corpus act. The persons who then conducted it refused to insert a paragraph which reflected on the loyalty of the people of Belfast, when required to do so, and the next morning a detachment of soldiers attacked the printing office, and utterly demolished it. This proceeding at least could not be justified by any plea of policy or expediency.

Still further extremities were considered necessary, and another proclamation was issued on the 17th, declaring the civil power to be insufficient; the most unlimited orders were sent to the military officers to use their most effectual power to subdue the existing treason; and his majesty's pardon was offered to all such as, on or before the 24th of June should surrender to the magistrates, and take the oath of allegiance. This proclamation was followed by lord Carhampton, the commander-in-chief in Ireland, directing military officers to act without waiting for any authority from the civil power. In consequence of these proceedings, many excesses were committed, many cases of extreme hardship occurred, and many innocent persons suffered.

A writer of the period thus describes the origin of the United Irishmen. "The association consisted of a multitude of societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted at most of twelve men each, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, subject to the inspection of one another. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten baronial, composed an upper baronial committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constitutional assemblies, delegates from

the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed, in the counties, country committees, and in the populous towns district committees. The provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district and country committees, two from each, in some cases three. The supreme command was committed to an executive directory, composed of five persons, unknown to all except the four secretaries of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees, the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots, and notified the election to none beside the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organised body by not easily discoverable channels of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees in the province, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downward through the lower baronial to the simple societies.

"The military organization was grafted on the civil: The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, serjeant, or corporal. The delegate of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly captain over these five, that is, of a company of 60 men: and the delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper or district committee was generally colonel of a battalion of 600 men, composed of the 50 simple societies, under the superintendence of this upper committee. Out of three persons, whose names were transmitted from the colonels of each county to the directory, one was appointed by that body to act as adjutant-general of the county. To complete the scheme, a military committee was appointed by the directory, but not before the beginning of the following year, to contrive plans for the direction of the national force in unaided rebellion or co-operation with an invading army. All the members of the union were ordered to furnish themselves with guns or pikes according to their ability. To form a pecuniary fund for the expenses of this revolutionary plan, monthly subscriptions,

according to the zeal and circumstances of the members, were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement."

Though this scheme of rebellion was thus carefully and skilfully arranged; yet the vigilance of government finally subverted all the plans of the conspirators. The number of United Irishmen, in Ulster alone, in May, 1797, amounted to nearly 100,000. Indeed, the main strength of the union lay in that province and in Dublin, with the adjoining counties of Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's county. The other parts of the kingdom were comparatively quiet, but the disaffected used every means to disturb that repose; and for that purpose sent among the catholics of the west and south, where they circulated the most infamous falsehoods in furtherance of their project. They fabricated accounts of horrible massacres committed by the protestants upon the catholics; and represented the orange-men as having entered in the most solemn engagements, to wade knee deep in the blood of the catholics if necessary to subdue them. Pretended oaths, binding them to this purpose, were even printed and dispersed, in order to arm the catholics with the most inveterate enmity. The orange-men, on the other hand, were as industrious in publicly disavowing these oaths, and though their society was rapidly increasing they wished to exhibit to the world that they were united for legitimate and constitutional purposes alone.

Mr. Lewins was appointed the minister of the Irish union in the summer of 1797, to negotiate with the French directory and the court of Spain for men, arms, and money. However desirous the executive was to separate Ireland from England, they had no inclination to come under the dominion of France; while the directory of that country was not disposed to afford any assistance which should not have for its ultimate object the retention of Ireland as a dependant conquest of that country. Dr. M'Nevin was charged with a memoir to the French directory, which fell into the hands of government; and from this memoir it appears that the demands of the party were for a force not exceeding 10,000 men, and not less than 5,000, with 40,000 stand of arms, and a proportionate

supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers. The negotiation was successfully carried on. The French directory sent a confidential person to London to collect information respecting the state of Ireland; he was met there by lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in consequence of what was then communicated, great preparations were made. Three armaments, one from Spain, one from Holland, and one from France were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland in the same year; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by earl St. Vincent, and the Dutch fleet by lord Duncan, off Camperdown, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion, although the French troops were actually on board. These disasters, however, by no means discouraged the insurgents, who were buoyed up by the French directory assuring them that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France in the month of April or May following.

Parliament assembled on the 6th of January this year, and after several sittings and adjournments, it was prorogued on the 3rd of July, and dissolved on the 11th. In the English legislature several endeavours were made to draw the attention of government to the disturbed condition of Ireland, in the hope that conciliatory measures would be adopted; but these efforts were unavailing, as a majority in the Irish cabinet were determined upon coercion and severity, and they completely controlled the more pacific wishes of the viceroy.

The election passed over in a manner which made it evident that the people had no confidence in parliament, and looking forward to results which no parliament could aid them in. Mr. Grattan refused to accept a seat, and lord Edward Fitzgerald, to conceal his treason, adopted the avowed motives of Grattan. The new parliament met, according to proclamation, on the 9th of January 1798, and continued to sit; but so little interest did the public take in their proceedings, that the galleries were deserted, and scarcely sufficient members could be brought together as would make a house.

The unionists, meanwhile, disappointed as they had repeatedly been in their expectations of aid from France, determined upon making one grand effort in behalf of the cause they had fostered. Many parts of Leinster and

Munster were in possession of the rebels; a military committee was appointed by the executive council, detailed instructions were given to the adjutant generals, and thanks voted to the colonels for their exertions in embodying and organising the people. Nocturnal insurrections became frequent. The town of Cahir, in Tipperary, was invested by a party of 800 men, who searched for arms, and evacuated it without further molestation. The loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's-county, Queen's-county, Kildare, and Wicklow, retired into garrison towns for safety. The military in this state of tumult were guilty of many excesses, which were frequently censured in parliament, but defended by ministers as absolutely necessary under the circumstances.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie having been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, December 12th, 1797, his first step was to make a tour of observation throughout the island, during which he severely condemned the excesses committed by the military in the provinces; and on his return to the capital he caused it to be notified in general orders "that the irregularities of the troops in Ireland had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy." He also tried to impress upon the minds of those in power, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary. But government considered vigorous measures to be indispensable. The leaders of the union had been promised succour from France; but it appears the directory had not much confidence in their Irish allies; for not only the succours never arrived, but they did not even intimate to the rebels where they intended to land. All was obscurity on their part, and unfounded hope on the part of the rebels.

Mr. Pelham, secretary to lord Camden, resigned his situation, and was succeeded by lord Castlereagh, a willing assistant to the government in all their coercive measures, which, severe as they were, failed to accomplish their object; and the full discovery of the conspiracy and conspirators was owing to a catholic of the name of Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea castle, in the county of Kildare, who had wormed himself into the confidence of lord Edward

Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, and in 1797 was appointed a colonel, then treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last a delegate for the province of Leinster. This man had received a paper from lord Fitzgerald, in his own hand writing, which was a return made by a national committee, on the 26th of February, 1798, from which it appeared that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to 269,896, and that the sum of £1,485. 4s. 9d. was in the hands of the treasurer. Reynolds having settled his terms with Mr. Cope, a merchant of Dublin, and having received 500 guineas in hand, he gave information that the Leinster delegates were to meet at the house of Mr. Bond, on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an immediate insurrection. For these services he was rewarded with the sum of £5,000. and a pension of £1,500 a year during life. Upon this information thirteen members of the provincial committee of Leinster were arrested in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, by justice Swan. Their papers were also seized; and on the same day Messrs. Emmett, M'Nevin, Oliver Bond, Henry and Hugh Jackson, and Sweetman, were apprehended. A warrant was issued against lord Edward Fitzgerald, and £1,000. offered for his apprehension; but his lordship remained for several weeks concealed in Dublin. The vacancies made by these arrests in the councils of the rebels were speedily filled up by new elections; and to keep up the spirit of the members of the union, a hand bill was circulated in which were announced the safety of the arrested, increased activity and organization, and concluded with the following words:—Again and again we warn you against doing the work of your tyrants by premature, by partial, or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at *her own time*, not at theirs.

Government published a proclamation on the 30th of March, announcing the existence of a conspiracy, and declaring that orders had been issued commanding the officers of his majesty's forces to employ the most effectual measures for the immediate suppression of that conspiracy, and for disarming the rebels. A manifesto was issued from the general's head quarters on the 3rd of April, requesting the inhabitants of Kildare to surrender their arms

within ten days, threatening in case of non-compliance to quarter large bodies of troops upon them, promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms, and announcing further severities if the country should still continue in a disturbed state. Similar notices were given on the advance of the military into each county, and after the expiration of ten days the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected. Several houses were burned, where concealed arms were found, while many individuals were flogged, and other excesses committed. Persons who were imprisoned on suspicion were sometimes almost strangled to death before their innocence or guilt could be ascertained by trial. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, disgusted at these proceedings, and having failed in his recommendation of more pacific measures to government, was unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character, by leading troops to scenes of civil desolation, he resigned the command of the army in Ireland, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by general Lake.

Distinctive symbols have been the fatal designations by which contending parties have been known in various ages, and under which the most barbarous crimes have been committed. Ireland had also her symbol—that of *croppy*, which was synonymous with rebel, and was applied indiscriminately to every person who wore his hair short in the neck; many innocent persons fell victims to this inference. Members of the union, had also adopted the colour of the shamrock, green, as their symbol. Persons wearing short hair were frequently tortured by the application of caps made of coarse linen smeared with pitch inside, which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without tearing the skin. The rebels retaliated, however, and frequently seized persons of loyal demeanour, cropped their heads, and exposed them in turn to a similar application.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was on the 19th of May, discovered to be lodging in the house of one Murphy, in Thomas-street. Major Sirr, attended by justice Swan and captain Ryan, with eight soldiers, repaired thither in coaches. "While they were posting the soldiers," says

Plowden, "in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, Swan, perceiving a woman running hastily up stairs, for the purpose as he supposed of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed; and on entering an apartment found lord Edward lying on a bed in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain; assuring him at the same time that he would treat him with the utmost respect. Lord Edward sprung from the bed and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at justice Swan, he then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them, under the ribs, was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously. At that moment captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at lord Edward with a pocket pistol; on which he made a plunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs, but affected him so much that he threw himself on the bed, and captain Ryan closing with him a violent scuffle ensued, during which lord Edward plunged the dagger into his side. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many desperate wounds; one of which, in the lower part of the belly, was so large that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr having entered the room, saw captain Swan bleeding, and lord Edward advancing toward the door, while captain Ryan, weltering in blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg and captain Swan by the other; he therefore fired at lord Edward with a pistol, and wounded him on the shoulder, on which he cried out for mercy and surrendered himself, his lordship was then conveyed to the castle." Lord Edward Fitzgerald languished till the 3rd of the following month, when he died in extreme agony. He was brother to the duke of Leinster, and married to a daughter of the late duke of Orleans.

Several other arrests were made on the 21st of May, particularly of Henry and John Sheares, brothers, both barristers, and much respected. In the house of Henry was found a proclamation in the hand writing of John, intended to have been published after the insurgents should have obtained possession of the capital. Very sanguinary sentiments were expressed in this manifesto, said to have been provoked by the excessive severity of the government,

The former members of the directory (according to the examination of Emmett before a committee of the lords) determined to avoid the shedding of blood as much as possible; to seize as hostages men of property; and, on the accomplishment of a revolution to banish those who should prove disaffected to the new government, supporting their wives and families out of their properties.

The new directory soon experienced the same fate as the former delegates. Their proceedings were disclosed by a captain Armstrong, a government agent, who found ready access to the leaders, and by a show of great zeal in the cause, obtained their confidence, and learned all their plans, which he immediately communicated to government.

Lord Castlereagh wrote to the mayor, May 21st, informing him "that his excellency had discovered that the disaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin had formed a plan of possessing themselves, in the course of the present week, of the metropolis, and of seizing the executive government, and those of authority in the city." On the 22nd, a similar communication was made to the house of commons.

The night of the 23rd of May had been fixed for the commencement of the insurrection. The plan proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, simultaneously. The stoppage of the mail coaches on the northern, southern, and western roads, was to be the signal to the members of the union throughout the kingdom to rise in arms. Notwithstanding the late discoveries it was found impossible to prevent the explosion which had been so long maturing. The metropolis, however, was so guarded in every quarter as to prevent the possibility of a surprise: the guards at the castle were trebled, and the whole city converted into a besieged garrison. Troops were also stationed throughout the country, and the companies of yeomen, strengthened by the addition of new levies without uniform, called supplementaries.

The insurrection did take place in spite of all these precautions. The peasants in the districts around Dublin, without leaders, with little ammunition, or other arms than clumsy pikes, and a few rusty firelocks, rose on the appointed night of the 23rd, and attempted the surprise

of the military posts, and the preclusion of the capital from external succour. The mail coaches were destroyed, that travelling to Belfast was burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Naas, and the coach travelling in the direction of Athlone; but not satisfied with destroying the Limerick mail, the rebels barbarously murdered both the driver and guard, near the Curragh of Kildare; and during that night and the following day several skirmishes took place, with detached parties of the royal troops, and several towns were attacked near the seat of government. The insurgents were defeated in all these skirmishes, except at Dunboyne and Barretstown, where small escorts were surprised. They were also repulsed in their attempts on the several towns, except Prospervers in the county of Kildare, where the garrison was surprised, the barrack fired, and thirty-seven soldiers perished in the flames or by the pikes of the assailants. On the morning of the 24th, engagements took place at Naas and Kilcullen. Lord Gosford commanded at the former place, and being apprised of the intended attack, was enabled by timely arrangements to repulse them with great loss. Many were taken prisoners and immediately hanged. The rebels were equally unfortunate in their attack on the latter place; but the king's troops lost many men and officers in both skirmishes.

War being now openly commenced between government and the rebels, the viceroy issued a proclamation on the 24th, giving notice that orders were given to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish, according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons acting, or in any manner aiding or abetting in the rebellion. Another proclamation was issued by general Lake, notifying his determination to use all necessary rigour, and commanding persons not in military uniforms (except they were legislative or magisterial characters) to remain within their houses from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning; and a third was published by the lord mayor of Dublin, requiring all persons in the capital, possessing registered arms, to furnish exact lists of them; and those who had not registered, to surrender whatever arms or ammunition they possessed; and every house keeper to affix on the outside of his door a list of the names of all persons resident in his house, distinguishing strangers from those who

actually made part of his family. Government continued to increase their coercive measures; and floggings, to extort confession, it is said, was practised under the very eye of the administration; without any attempt on its part to check practices so subversive of the constitution.

Several unsuccessful attacks were made by the rebels on the 24th. A large assemblage of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, indicated an attack on that place; and on the following day, the garrison consisting of about 450 men, under colonel Mahon, was assailed by a body of 1,000 or 1,500 rebels, who on their advancing into the town received so destructive a fire from the garrison, as made them recoil and endeavour to retreat, but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which were immediately fired by the soldiery, and they met a miserable fate. The loss of the rebels was not less than 500, while not a loyalist was so much as wounded; and after this complete defeat, about 200 of the insurgents were hanged or shot.

On the 26th of May, a body of between three and four thousand rebels had posted themselves on the hill of Tara, where they were attacked and defeated by the king's troops. Discouraged by these and other defeats, some of the insurgents began to wish for a safe retreat from a cause which they found to be more dangerous than they had anticipated; and general Dundas received a message from one Perkins, a rebel chief, commanding 2,000 men, posted near the Curragh, stating that his men would surrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to return unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins' brother from Naas jail. The general consulted the government, and the terms were acceded to. Thirteen cart loads of pikes were left behind them.

Almost the whole county of Kildare was now in a state of open revolt; and an insurrection burst forth in the county of Wexford, where it was least expected, as many of its catholic inhabitants had protested their loyalty, and offered to arm in defence of government, if permitted. But whatever may have been the immediate cause, the standard of rebellion was hoisted in the night of the 26th, by father John Murphy, a catholic priest, of Boulavogue, between Gorey and Wexford. The commotion was sudden,

violent, and extensive. Murphy put himself at the head of the insurgents, two large bodies of whom, male and female, were collected on the following day, being Whitsunday, one on the hill of Oulart, the other on Kilkthomas hill, the latter of which amounting to nearly 3,000, and commanded by Michael Murphy, another catholic priest; they were bravely attacked by about 300 yeomen, who marched intrepidly up the hill, where the rebel forces, notwithstanding their numbers, retreated in the greatest disorder, leaving about 200 of their companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with this victory so honourable to their courage, tarnished the laurels they had so gloriously gained by setting fire to two Roman catholic chapels and about a hundred cabins, in a pursuit of seven miles. Very different from the battle of Kilkthomas was the result of an action fought on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, where father John Murphy commanded in person. The priest of Boulavogue, we must inform our readers, was considered to be a man of shallow intellect, fanatical in opinion, and ferocious in conduct. On the hill of Oulart, the rebels finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with a determination that overthrew all opposition, and slew a whole detachment of the North Cork militia, with the exception of colonel Foote, the commander, one serjeant, and three privates, while the insurgents had only three killed and six wounded.

Flushed with victory, while the country round was in a state of the greatest distress, the rebels, headed by their patriotic priest, marched next day to Camolin, and greatly increased their numbers during their march. At Camolin they found a quantity of fire arms (800 in number) which had been sent by earl Mountmorris for the use of his yeomen. This was a valuable supply. They next proceeded to Ferns, whence they followed the loyalists to Enniscorthy. About 7,000 strong, 800 of whom were provided with fire arms, the remainder armed with pikes, appeared before this place about one in the afternoon. The garrison was compelled to retire after a furious assault, and retreated towards Wexford, accompanied by most of the loyal people of the place. Enniscorthy was in flames, while the rebels for want of proper officers were undecided how to act, and at length determined upon attacking Wexford, already a

scene of confusion and terror. While the rebels halted at this place on the 21st, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who had been previously committed to prison by the loyalists upon secret information, being suspected of favouring the rebel cause, were now at the instance of some of the royalist officers dispatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail upon the insurgents to disperse. They had taken post at Viagar-hill, where they had formed a camp, and where they were found by the two messengers, whose mission entirely failed. Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Fitzgerald (whose name was a sufficient recommendation) was retained as a leader by the rebels, whose advanced guard pushed forward in the afternoon of the same day to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and fixed upon that eminence as one of their military stations. The consternation of the inhabitants became extreme, and crowds repaired on board the ships in the harbour for refuge. The garrison in Wexford did not exceed 1,200 men, while the rebels were at least 15,000. General Fawcett who was marching from Duncannon with a strong reinforcement was hourly expected. The general having arrived during the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a detachment of eighty men, but they were intercepted on the morning of the 30th, near the camp at Three Rocks, and after a sharp engagement, those who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy. On receiving the intelligence of this disaster the general fell back upon Duncannon. After an unsuccessful attack upon the rebels by the garrison it was resolved in a council of officers to evacuate the town, having no adequate force to maintain it; and Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, a suspected rebel, who was in prison in Wexford, was requested to write a letter, entreating the rebels to act with humanity. The retreat immediately commenced, and all the troops evacuated the town before the inhabitants were made aware of it, while the rebels poured in by thousands, exhibiting every mark of exultation, and the inhabitants rendered hospitable by their fears, entertained them with great profusion.

Alternate success on the part of the royal troops and the rebels now took place in various skirmishes. The former prevailed at Ballycannoo and at Newtonberry; while the

latter defeated a small force under colonel Walpole, (a relation of the viceroy, and totally unqualified for a soldier) and took three pieces of artillery. The rebels next advanced to New Ross, in two bodies, one under Edward Roche on the north, and another, more formidable, under the command of Mr. Harvey, (the late prisoner in Wexford) penetrated to the south. The conquest of New Ross would have opened the communication with the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, where many thousands were supposed ready to rise on the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of this town, however, was obstinately contested for ten hours; but the rebels, more intent on plunder than victory, and at the same time intoxicated, were ultimately repulsed, and the royal troops obtained possession of the place. The slaughter of the rebels was prodigious; while the king's troops lost about ninety men killed, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia. Enraged at this defeat the fugitive rebels turned their fury against objects incapable of resistance, and more than one hundred protestant loyalists were massacred in cold blood.

After some days of comparative inactivity, the army under father Michael Murphy, twenty thousand strong, advanced against Arklow on the 9th of June, the attack was fierce and irregular, and continued for more than two hours; but the destructive fire of the troops rendered all their efforts unavailing, and they were unable to enter the place. Father Murphy harangued the troops, and advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned; but though he had pronounced himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon ball, on which his troops hastily retreated to Gorey.

The north had hitherto remained quiet; not because dissatisfaction did not prevail, but because the disaffected wanted an organised system of action, and were waiting to know what success had attended the rebels in the south. Consequently when they heard of the proceedings in Wexford, and the victories gained over the royal army, insubordination made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Antrim, where a considerable number assembled on the 7th of June, but were dispersed by the troops under general Nugent, with the loss of about 200 men. Unsuccessful

attempts were likewise made by small parties at Larne, Ballymena, and Ballycastle; but as the war in the south had assumed a completely religious complexion, the insurgents were made to understand that the rest of the north-erns would not second their efforts, the protestants justly fearing that if they assisted the catholics in overthrowing the government, the next overthrow would be their own; the malcontents therefore relinquished all thoughts of further warfare, and destroying, throwing away, or surrendering their arms, dispersed to their several homes. Partial insurrection also showed itself in the county of Down, and an action between some insurgents and the royal troops took place at Ballynahinch; but they were soon dispersed, and finally separated from the same motives as had influenced the disaffected in Antrim. Some of the leaders, however, being taken were executed.

The insurgents in the county of Wexford were now left to contend almost alone against the royal troops. The town of Wexford was the prime seat of the rebellion in the south. It remained in possession of the rebel force from the 30th of May to the 21st of June, during which period continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. Since their repulse at Ross and Arklow, they were reduced to defensive warfare, and could only hope to maintain some posts until forces should arrive to their assistance from France. During this period Vinegar-hill, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, became the scene of horrid butcheries. A number of protestants were murdered on the spot, but many more were dragged to Vinegar-hill, where after a mock trial, but oftener without the form of any trial whatever, they were shot or transfixed with pikes: they were frequently flogged or otherwise barbarously treated before their final execution,

This dreadful state of affairs could not long continue. It was requisite it should be brought to a conclusion either by the vigour of the government, or the ascendancy of the insurgents. Accordingly on the morning of the 21st of June, a royal force of at least 13,000 men, with a formidable train of artillery, was to commence an attack from all quarters at once on the great station of Vinegar-hill, where were posted nearly 20,000 of the rebels. The attack

began with the firing of cannon. All the divisions were at their respective posts by seven in the morning, except that of general Needham, who did not arrive till nine, when the affray was finished. After sustaining the fire of the artillery and small arms for about an hour and a half, the rebels fled through the gap left open from the non-arrival of general Needham. The fugitives directed their course towards Wexford.

The royal troops obtained possession of Wexford on the same day as Enniscorthy. General Moore, at the head of 1,200 men, had been intercepted on the evening of the 20th, by about 5,000 rebels, led from Three Rocks by Philip Roche, at Goff's bridge, near the church of Horetown. A smart contest ensued in which the royalists were victorious. Joined by two regiments under lord Dalhousie, the army took post on the field of battle, and on the morning of the 21st was proceeding to Taghmon, where messengers arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, on condition that their lives and properties should be guaranteed by the generals. Moore forwarded these proposals to general Lake, who returned for answer that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms; but that the people might have peace and protection, when their arms and leaders were delivered into his hands. Lord Kingsborough, who was a prisoner in the town, promised them full security if they complied with these conditions.

The insurgents divided themselves into two bodies; one under the command of the Rev. Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh; the other under Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded to Peppard's castle, where they encamped for the night. When general Lake arrived at Wexford on the 22nd, he found it in possession of general Moore. Many persons who remained upon the faith of lord Kingsborough's assurance of safety, were apprehended and suffered death. Philip Roche, likewise, on coming to Wexford to settle the manner in which the rebels under his command were to surrender with his majesty's generals, was dragged from his horse, kicked, buffeted, and at length committed to prison. These acts of cruelty had a most injurious effect. His followers, as soon as they learned

his fate, considered their case as hopeless, marched away to the county of Carlow, under the command of John Murphy, the blood-stained priest who had first raised the standard of insurrection in the county of Wexford. Having advanced in column they were opposed by lieutenant Dixon, who was defeated; but they were pursued by general Dunn, and completely routed on the 26th of June, at Kilcomney-hill. Father Murphy, who fled from the field of battle, but was taken soon after, and being conducted to the head quarters of general Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market house.

The great system of rebellion was now shattered, and though a few skirmishes between the insurgents and the royal troops took place, and many barbarities were committed, nothing like a general course of operation was followed. With the final dispersion of the insurgents in Wexford, the rebellion was at an end; but the fatal consequences to those concerned in it, did not so soon terminate.

CHAPTER XI.

Administration of lord Cornwallis. Act of amnesty passed. Invasion of Ireland by the French. Their proceedings frustrated. Union with Great Britain first brought before parliament. Unpopularity of the measure. Debate in the Irish commons. Majority of one in favour of the measure. Proceedings in the British legislature. Further discussions in Ireland. The union resolved upon.

EARL CAMDEN was superseded in the viceroyalty by the marquis Cornwallis, who assumed the civil government and supreme military command, June 21st, 1798. The marquis received instructions to put down the rebellion by moderation, and to check the ferocity of the orange-men by firmness. The first act of the new governor was a proclamation authorising his majesty's generals to grant protection to such as having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful societies, and take the oath of allegiance. To give the full sanction of law to this measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish parliament, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all who not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation. This act was followed by a treaty with the chiefs of the united Irishmen, negotiated by counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, expressed in the following terms: "That the undersigned state prisoners engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatsoever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an

enemy's country, if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution; and also Mr. Oliver Bond (who had been tried, and was then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal." Several principals of the union, particularly O'Connor, Emmett, M'Nevin, and Neilson, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of parliament, in whose report, published by authority of government, is contained a mass of information concerning the rebellion of 1798.

Fifteen of the principal conspirators, however, being found to abuse the lenity of government, by secretly labouring to revive the expiring flame of rebellion, were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in Scotland, where they remained as prisoners till the conclusion of the war with France. They were then permitted to withdraw from his majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond died in prison.

On the 17th of July the attorney-general brought a bill into parliament for the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died of his wounds, and Cornelius Grogan and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, who were executed at Wexford, for which purpose several witnesses were heard at the bar. Similar proceedings were also carried on in the house of lords. This act of severity towards the unoffending widow and orphan appeared at variance with the professions of government. Mr. Curran was heard at the bar of the commons in behalf of the widow of lord Fitzgerald, and concluded his eloquent and pathetic appeal in the following terms: "I conjure you to reflect that the fact, I mean the fact of guilt or innocence (which must be the foundation of this bill) is not now, after the death of the party, capable of being tried, consistent with the liberty of a free people, or the unalterable rules of eternal justice. And that as to the forfeiture and the ignominy which it enacts, that only can be punishment which lights upon guilt, and that can be only vengeance which breaks upon innocence!" A bill was also passed for granting compensation to such of his majesty's loyal subjects as had sustained losses in their property in consequence of the late rebellion, and commissioners were named for carrying it into effect. The total amount of the claims was £1,023,000. of which £515,000 belonged to the county of Wexford.

While lord Cornwallis was putting the military force

into such a train that it might be speedily assembled in any part of the kingdom where it should be required, he received intelligence of a French invasion. Happily however, for the interest and safety of Ireland, perhaps of the British empire, the French directory suffered the period when Ireland was in a state of actual rebellion to pass by without affording any aid to insurgents; and now when it was quelled they dispatched an inconsiderable force thither from whose co-operation no important results could possibly flow. They landed at Killala, in the county of Mayo, August 22nd, 1798, under the command of general Humbert, and took up their head quarters at the bishops palace. They entered the bay under English colours. Humbert, though he could scarcely write his name, was an excellent officer, prompt in his movements, and decisive in his operations.

When the French landed the whole armed force of Killala did not exceed fifty men, who fled after a vain attempt to oppose the entrance of the French, leaving two of their small party dead, and twenty-one prisoners. A detachment of the French advanced towards Belliva, seven miles from Killala, on the following day, where they defeated the pickets, and took possession of the town on the night of the 24th, the garrison retiring to Foxford, ten miles farther to the south.

Though the arrangements of the lord-lieutenant were not completed, a sufficient military force was quickly dispatched to the point of attack. General Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the 25th, where he was joined on the following night by general Lake. The French general marched to oppose these troops with a force consisting of 800 fatigued French, and nearly 1,000 Irish peasants who had joined the invaders. He had only two small guns. The army opposed to him was fresh and vigorous, advantageously posted, with a train of fourteen cannons. The number of this army has been variously stated, but according to the Rev. Mr. Gordon, who was likely to know the truth, it exceeded 3,000. The French attacked the enemy's flank, and such a disgraceful panic seized the royal troops that they hastily fled in all directions, leaving their artillery and ammunition behind them. They ran 80 miles in 27 hours! nor did they stop till they reached

Athlone. It is a question whether they would have even halted here, had they not been met by the viceroy in person, who was so deeply impressed with the dangers attending this invasion upon the close of a rebellion, that he determined to conduct the military operations himself. When he reached Athlone he was informed by those who had fled, that the French had pursued the army of general Lake to Tuam, driven it thence, and seized that post. But the truth was they had not moved further than Castlebar.

The motions of the main army under the personal command of lord Cornwallis, were calculated to cover the country, and to intimidate the abettors of rebellion. After several slight skirmishes, for none deserved the name of a battle, the French found themselves so hemmed in at Ballynamuck, that after an ineffectual resistance they all surrendered, while the peasantry who had joined them, and to whom quarter was denied, fled in dismay. They were about 1,500 in number, 500 of whom were killed by their pursuers. The French troops lost 256 from their first landing.

Though the French aid was thus annihilated, rebellion continued to show itself in the west; but it was finally suppressed. Killala, which had been thirty-two days in the possession of the French, was taken by storm from the insurgents, who defended it under a French officer; and thus terminated another futile effort on the part of France to separate Ireland from the English government. But the little army of Humbert was only intended as the vanguard of a more formidable force, which fortunately sailed too late to be of any effect. On the 16th of September a French brig arrived near the north west coast of Donegal, and landed its crew, among whom was James Napper Tandy, well known as an active personage in the society of United Irishmen, and now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Upon receiving information of the surrender of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite an insurrection by their manifestoes, they re-embarked and left the Irish shores. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburg, and sent over to Ireland, where he was tried at the spring assizes of 1801, at Lifford, when having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to leave

the kingdom, and take up his residence in France, and died there soon after.

Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was also unsuccessful. A squadron from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line named the *Hoche*, eight frigates, a schooner and a brig, with between four and five thousand soldiers, was fallen in with, October 11th, off the coast of Donegal, by admiral Warren, who immediately threw out the signal for a general chase, but it was found impossible to commence the action before next morning. Confident in their strength, the French squadron bore down, and formed a line of battle in close order, on which an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued. The *Hoche* was captured, the frigates made sail to escape, but six were taken in the chase. Another squadron of three frigates, with 2,000 men for land service, destined to co-operate with the former, anchored in the bay of Killala on the 27th of October: but on the appearance of some British, set sail with precipitation and escaped. Amongst the prisoners taken in the *Hoche* was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, where he was tried by a court martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability, neither denying nor palliating his offence; he was found guilty and condemned to death. He requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged as a felon. It was refused, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy by cutting his throat in prison. The wound was not thought mortal, but after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. Before his death a motion was made in the court of king's bench, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of Tone, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to die, on a charge of high treason, before a court martial, though he did not belong to his majesty's army, while the court of king's bench was sitting, before which he might have been tried in the ordinary way. Mr. Curran moved for a habeas corpus, to bring up the prisoner, which was granted, but he could not be removed into court without danger of instant death. The return of the writ of habeas corpus was postponed for a few days, during which he died. Holt,

the last of the rebel chiefs, obtained the boon of his forfeited life, by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the Irish rebellion of 1798, in which it is estimated that not less than 30,000 lives were sacrificed, and property destroyed to a greater amount even than was claimed under the compensation act; but some idea may be formed from the conflagrations that took place. The towns of Blessington, Carnew, Donard, Hacketstown, Killedmond, and Tinealy, were all destroyed by fire; in Ross nearly three hundred houses, mostly those of the labouring classes, were consumed; the greater part of Ennisecorthy was laid in ashes; and in the open country an immense number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats were destroyed. The loyalists alone claimed £1,023,000. a sum of great magnitude, but, it is supposed, not equal to one-third of the entire property destroyed by a rebellion, in support of which no fewer than 70,000 men were in arms at one time.

Parliament was prorogued in the usual form on the 16th of October, when his excellency congratulated both houses on the entire suppression of the rebellion which had cost the kingdom such an amount of blood and treasure.

It was in the special commission from the British cabinet to lord Cornwallis to bring about an incorporate union between the two countries—a measure which would necessarily agitate the minds of the people. The first hint of the intention of the government was given to the public, in a publication entitled. "Arguments for and against a union between Great Britain and Ireland considered," written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of the civil department. This semi-official pamphlet was considered as speaking the language of the government; and it accordingly inflamed men's minds to a degree of unprecedented fervour. No fewer than thirty other pamphlets appeared in the course of two or three months, taking different sides of the question some of which were written with consummate ability. Meetings were held throughout the country to protest against the measure. The gentlemen of the Irish parliament called a meeting for the 9th of December: to them the matter was of the greatest importance, for if the Irish parliament was

annihilated, and a few of its members incorporated with the British legislature, it would destroy all their hopes of political eminence, as their professional avocations in Dublin would not permit them to attend the sittings of parliament in London. The inhabitants of the metropolis also were hostile to the union, because they justly feared that Dublin would fall into decay when, by the removal of the parliament there would be no longer the same influx of individuals, nor the same circulation of money. The inhabitants of Galway, in public meeting assembled, protested against the measure, and declared that it was beyond the power of the representatives to vote away the independence of the realm. The nation was in commotion from one end to the other. Catholic and protestant, orange-men and defenders, and all other distinctions were for the time extinct, and the whole population was divided into Unionists and Anti-Unionists. Government was not scrupulous to increase the number of its partizans by a very liberal and comprehensive system of corruption, which inclined many men, against their own opinion, to barter their country for gold; while the patriots were no less anxious to strengthen their opposition by arguments and facts.

In the midst of this political commotion, parliament was convened on the 22nd of January, 1799, when the speech of the lord-lieutenant after touching upon the late rebellion, the defeat of the French fleet off the coast of Ireland, by admiral Warren, and the victories of lord Nelson, adverted specifically to the question of the union with Britain, in the concluding paragraph. "The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your attention, and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire." An address was moved in the lords, which, as usual, was an echo of the speech, but an amendment was proposed by lord Powers.

court, strongly reprobating the measure of a legislative union. The address, however, was voted by a large majority, though similar motions were made by lord Gladsore and Bellamont. In the commons the address was moved by lord Tyrone, though he desired it to be understood that he did not pledge himself in any manner to support the union. An important and animated debate ensued which lasted twenty-two hours. In this preliminary discussion almost all the topics for and against the measure were advanced. Mr. G. Ponsonby moved an amendment asserting "the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognised by the British legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries." This amendment brought on a brisk discussion. There was a vast display of talent on both sides. Mr. Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant, contended that it was not within the moral competence of parliament to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. This doctrine was embraced by many others; and Mr. Lee, who argued also upon the additional influence which the British minister would have by transplanting one hundred Irish members into the British senate, contended that the only way in which parliament could be made competent to do what they were now required to do, was to dissolve the existing parliament, and call together a new one, issuing public notice of the object for which they were assembled; such a parliament would come commissioned with express authority for the purpose. Mr. Barrington declared that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord with a view to influence the votes of members of the Irish parliament; and he alluded in very plain terms to the case of two of the oldest servants of the crown, members of that house, who had been dismissed from their places because they were determined to vote conscientiously. Peerages also, he had heard, were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of parliament. Lord Castlereagh (who was frequently designated by the epithet of *stripling* in the course of this debate) in reply urged the general amount of what could be urged in behalf of the measure. He begged that the

discussion might be calm and dispassionate. He denied the argument of the parliaments' incompetency, and was surprised to hear it advanced by constitutional lawyers; and maintained that the legislature was at all times competent to do that for which it could only have been instituted, namely, the adoption of the best means to promote the general happiness and prosperity. He denied that Ireland possessed the British constitution or could possess it, for it was contrary to the very essence of that constitution to have two separate and independent legislatures and one crown. The greater country must lead: the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns; but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will must be preceded by establishing one common interest. He concluded a long and able speech by professing himself attached to the measure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the interests of that country would be permanently and effectually promoted by an incorporation of the two legislatures. Mr. Plunket, in an eloquent and argumentative speech, spoke against the union, and for the amendment; and boldly asserted, that base and wicked as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious and abominable. He had been used to think that he, at the head of the government of that country, a plain, honest soldier, unaccustomed to, and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth, whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence; yet he was bold to say, that during the viceroyalty of that unspotted veteran; and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. He concluded by declaring that for his own part he would resist the measure to the last gasp of his existence, and to the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.

A lengthened discussion still ensued. Almost every member who had previously spoken in that house now delivered his sentiments on the subject of the legislative union. At length, after a debate of twenty-two hours, the contest was so close that only a majority of one appeared against the amendment; the numbers being, on the division, one hundred and six and one hundred and five.

The measure was being prosecuted meanwhile in the British parliament, for so sanguine was the minister in his expectations of success that without waiting to know the issue in the Irish legislature, he opened his plan on the same day, viz. the 22nd of January. A message was delivered from the king to the house of lords by lord Granville, recommending a legislative union of the two kingdoms, hoping that the parliament in both countries would be disposed to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security; and of consolidating as far as possible the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire. Some little discussion ensued both in the lords and commons, upon this communication; but the great effort was reserved for the 31st of January. On that day Mr. Pitt brought the subject again under the consideration of parliament, and said, that when he proposed to the house to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's most gracious message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation; he had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He admitted that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power to accept or reject a proposition of this nature; a power which he by no means meant to dispute; but he felt it his duty to lay before the house a general outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to insure the safety and happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals, leaving the rejection or adoption of the plan to the future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. He remarked that the union with

Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland: yet could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from it? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were only to be supplied by blending more closely with that country the capital and industry of this. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the catholics without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very elaborate speech he proposed to the house the following resolutions, as embracing the general outline of the intended union.

1st. "In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

2nd. "It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

3rd. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing law, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

4th. "For the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords, spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be

hereafter agreed upon by the acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the said oaths, and make the same declarations as are required by law to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

5th. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

6th. " For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free, and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations, as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such counter-vailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may

before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

7th. "For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interests or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles, as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

8th. "For the like purpose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require."

Mr. Pitt, in addition to these resolutions, proposed an address, stating that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message, that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; that they were therefore induced to lay before his majesty such propositions as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom in due time and in a proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work.

Mr. Sheridan avowed his utter disapprobation of the measure, and stated his intention of moving two resolu-

tions declaring that no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity which had not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries; and that whoever should endeavour to obtain such approbation, by employing the influence of government, was an enemy to the king and the constitution. Sheridan's motion was unsuccessful; and the resolutions of Pitt passed, and were sent up to the lords where an interval of a month was allowed before taking them into consideration.

In Ireland, meanwhile, the greatest joy prevailed at the issue of the first debate on the question of union, which was regarded as equal to a defeat of the minister. The anti-unionists were celebrated and rose into great popularity: while the supporters of the measure met with the most marked indignities from the people. Lord Castlereagh moved an adjournment on the 28th of January to the 7th of February, in order to engraft his further parliamentary proceedings upon those of the English legislature: but he assured the house that it was not his intention to press the measure against what might appear to be the decided sense of the Irish parliament and nation.

The popular feeling against the union was so strong in Dublin, that it was seriously contemplated to remove the parliament to Cork, in consequence of the personal outrages committed upon the members, in going to and from the house, who had voted in favour of the union. Nor was this spirit confined to Dublin, for throughout greater part of the country the same dislike prevailed. The freeholders of Fermanagh, King's County, Limerick, Monaghan, Clare, Cavan, Tyrone, and other places, agreed to strong resolutions against the proposed union, and voted their thanks to their representatives for opposing it. This enthusiasm, however, did not extend to the nation at large; the majority of the landed interest was in favour of the measure and Cork, the second city in the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to the ministerial scheme.

The time which had been fixed by the British house of lords having elapsed, on the 19th of March, the question was again introduced by lord Grenville in an able speech

in which he remarked, "that it was highly expedient and politic to enter upon a speedy inquiry into the merits of the measure. Its nature had been misconceived in Ireland; the views of its advocates had been misrepresented; prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the proposition. To dissipate such delusions, and repel such assaults, early deliberation was necessary, that national animosity might not be embittered or inflamed into a decisive rejection of the offer. It could not be thought an ill compliment to the commons of Ireland to discuss a scheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their strong approbation." His lordship went into a historical disquisition of the progress of that country to civilisation, and its present state. The good consequence of union would quickly appear in the progress of civilisation. the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Irish protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a protestant imperial parliament; the anxiety of the catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature. A free admission of the catholics into the Irish parliament might lead to a subversion of the constitution; but all fear of their preponderancy would vanish under a general legislature, as they would then be far outnumbered by the protestants. The animosities of those rival parties would be allayed, and a tranquillity which Ireland had rarely enjoyed would be the pleasing result. He then alluded to the real point in dispute—that the independence of Ireland would be sacrificed by the union and pointed at its absurdity by referring to the case of Scotland. Before the union which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were less independent than when they afterwards composed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this union each had become more independent of foreign nations; each had become more powerful, and each had increased in prosperity. When that union was in agitation, loud clamours arose against it; but the experience of nearly a century had proved that they were ill founded. It was promotive of the general interests of the empire to consult the interest of every component part of it; and as this had proved true

with regard to Scotland, in consequence of a union with that country, so he was persuaded a similar measure would operate with respect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to union than that both countries were assailed by a common enemy, whose aim was to destroy Great Britain by making Ireland the medium of that mischief. Previous to the union with Scotland, it was the principal aim of the French to render that country subservient to their insidious designs. At this time the chief hope of resistance to the tyrannical power of France seemed to rest on Great Britain; and Ireland in her weak and disordered state, could look to this country alone for support. Her independence was essentially involved in her connection with Britain; and if she should shake off that tie she would fall under the French yoke. An interesting debate ensued, and the address being voted, a conference was held with the commons on the following day, when it was proposed that it should be offered to the throne as the joint address of both houses. It was also resolved not to press the measure in the Irish parliament while the public mind was so decidedly hostile, and the legislature itself so nearly balanced, but to postpone the further consideration till the ensuing session.

In Ireland the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the 1st of August. It was evident, however, that the government were determined to persevere; and the lord-lieutenant on the termination of the session, announced that a joint address of the two houses of the British parliament had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland; and he further declared that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

The Irish parliament again assembled in January, 1800. Mr. Grattan accepted a seat for the borough of Wicklow, willing to hope that he might be able by his influence to save his country from what he, as well as many others, considered as her ruin. The recess had been diligently

employed by the viceroy in removing the difficulties which opposed themselves to the measure. He was successful in conciliating many who had hitherto been neutral, if not hostile. On the 15th of February the house met, after an adjournment, when petitions against the union were poured in from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath, and Fermanagh; also from the city of Limerick, the town of Belfast, and several other places. A message from the lord-lieutenant was presented by lord Castlereagh, which he read, and then proceeded to lay open the plan of the union, which he now seemed to consider as certain. He congratulated the house upon the happy change of sentiment with respect to that measure which had taken place, carefully avoiding, however, to inform them by what means that change had been accomplished. He concluded an elaborate speech nearly in the following words: "Having gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible, I trust I have proved to every man who hears me, that the proposal is such a one as it is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, and Ireland to accept. It is one which will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It is one which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of a union, to be burdened with the debt of Britain. It is one which by establishing a fair principle of contribution tends to relieve Ireland from an expense of one million, in time of war, and of half that sum in time of peace. It is one which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one that by uniting all the ecclesiastical establishments, and consolidating the legislatures of the empire, puts an end to religious jealousy and removes the possibility of a separation. It is one that places the great question that has so long agitated the country upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one that establishes such a representation for the country as must lay asleep for ever, the question of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious dissensions,

has produced all our distractions and all our calamities." After a lengthened debate the house divided, when there appeared for the union 158, against it 115. The earl of Clare led on the unionists in the house of lords, and at the conclusion of a long speech he declared that "if he lived to see that measure completed, to his latest hour he should feel an honourable pride in reflecting on the share he might have had in contributing to effect it." He succeeded; but he felt so sensibly the diminution of his power and influence *after* the union, that the consciousness greatly accelerated his death, a short while before which he is said to have repented of his share in bringing about that measure. The division in the lords was 75 for and 26 against the union: showing that the British cabinet had more influence in that house than in the commons. If we consider how these majorities were obtained, it will lessen our surprise at the evident change that had taken place: twenty-seven new members were added to the house of peers; while promotions, grants, promises, and every means of corruption were abundantly lavished to secure supporters to the measure.

The question was again introduced by Mr. Cerry, on the 17th of March. In the course of his speech he interspersed much personal acrimony and abuse, directed particularly against Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himself as strongly and in such better terms that a duel immediately took place, in which, after five shots were exchanged, Mr. Cerry was wounded. After a long debate a motion was made for adjournment, but was rejected by a majority, and the 1st day of January, 1801, fixed upon for the commencement of the union of the two kingdoms, under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The articles of union underwent much discussion, the anti-unionists contesting every point; but they were defeated. The motion for bringing in the bill was carried by a majority of sixty. It was carried up to the house of lords, where it was read a third time, on the 13th of June; a protest was entered by the duke of Leinster and the other dissenting peers.

Meanwhile, on the 2nd of April, the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message to both

houses of the British parliament. In the commons Mr. Pitt discussed the particular manner of carrying the measure into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited to the proportional contributions of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire, and the selection was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth, thus providing at once for the security of the landed interest and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would make no change in the internal form of British representation, it would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might once have been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances. As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility was fixed at thirty-two. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of Irish commoners. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended, as more conformable to the spirit of nobility than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The permission of creating new peers for Ireland he also justified; for, though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, there was a danger of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, on account of the limited nature of the successions. He also justified the propriety of leaving to the imperial parliament the discussion of the claims of the catholics to future emancipation. The next article would grant a general freedom of trade, with only

such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudices: almost all prohibitions would be repealed; and only protecting duties to a trifling amount imposed on some few articles. The plan of the union was strenuously opposed by Mr. Grey, who founded his principal objections on its unpopularity among the people of Ireland; on the means of gross corruption which had been used to accomplish that measure; and the great difference between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England. The remaining articles having been severally discussed and agreed to by large majorities, Pitt moved that an address be presented to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message. This was carried without a division.

All that was now wanted in Ireland was the scheme of compensation; and this was plausibly brought before the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, upon a principle of justice. He proposed a grant of £1,260,000. for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth by the disfranchisement of eighty-four boroughs, at the rate of £15,000. for each. It was contended by several members, that to grant a compensation for a species of property, in itself illegal and unconstitutional, would be a gross insult to the country: but those who had a personal interest in the arrangement, strenuously defended it, maintaining that however vicious such possessions might have been in their origin, yet, from proscriptive usage, and from having been the subjects of contracts and family settlements, they could not be confiscated without a breach of faith. The bill also met with a little opposition in the lords, but it passed into a law without any demonstration of serious hostility, as the most active and zealous opponents of the union had given up the contest as entirely hopeless. As soon as the union bill had passed through both houses in Ireland, a similar one was carried through the British legislature, and on the 2nd of

July it received the royal assent: and on the twenty-ninth the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, when his majesty said,—“ It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms. This great measure on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign.” In Ireland the royal assent was given on the 2nd of August, and with it terminated the existence of the Irish parliament.

The example of the Scotch was followed by Ireland in the formation of their first quota of the imperial parliament. No new election was resorted to; but the most zealous supporters of the union were rewarded with seats in the imperial legislature. On the 31st of December, 1800, his majesty entered the house of peers. The commons appeared at the bar of the lords, and the speaker addressed his majesty in an impressive speech, congratulating him upon the prosperity and happiness which were likely to attend the empire in consequence of the union. His majesty made a most gracious reply; after which the parliament was prorogued till the 22nd of January, 1801. Immediately after his majesty had left the house he held a grand council, in which several arrangements required by that grand event were settled. In honour of the union many promotions were made and several new titles created. On the following day—January 1st, 1801,—the incorporate union of Great Britain and Ireland was formally announced by proclamation; and thus the great and important measure was finally accomplished.

The odium which was heaped upon this measure at the time of its agitation, and the hostility it experienced were no fair criteria of its character: it would be impossible perhaps to carry such a scheme in any country without exciting strong local and personal prejudices; still less could it be possible in Ireland where every thing is decided upon feeling rather than judgment. The greater part of its most strenuous opponents felt rather the indignity than the impolicy of the measure of legislative union; they talked much of the honour of Ireland, instead of taking her prosperity into their consideration; and it is but reasonable to suppose, that if it had involved nothing apparently

injurious to that national honour which an Irishman cherishes with such fond enthusiasm, there would have been few indeed, if any, who would have been found to raise their voice against its prudence or policy. There is one thing, however, of which we are certain, that every individual who wishes well to the prosperity of the united kingdom, must ardently desire to see Ireland conciliated and to find her a cordial and willing labourer in the common cause.

CHAPTER XII.

Meeting of the imperial parliament. Suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. Rebellion in 1803. Trial and execution of Robert Emmett and other conspirators. Threatened invasion of England. The king refuses to grant relief to his catholic subjects on account of his coronation oath. Resignation of ministers. Dissolution of parliament. Commercial distress caused by the decrees of Buonaparte. Charge of fraudulently disposing of military commissions against the duke of York. Lord Castlereagh accused of corrupt practices. Duel fought by Canning and Castlereagh. The prince of Wales appointed regent. Catholic committee in Dublin. Debate in parliament on the catholic question. The corn laws. State of Ireland. Distress and riots in England. Massacre at Manchester. George IV. visits Ireland. Famine in Ireland in 1821.

HAVING now gone through the history of Ireland from its earliest existence as a country to the accomplishment of her union with Great Britain, which event involves her subsequent history in that of the empire itself. A continuation in detail up to the present year would defeat our purpose of supplying a concise history of Ireland, by swelling this volume to a size exceeding our prescribed limits. We will, however, give a summary of the principal events which have occurred since the union in connection with Ireland, leaving the details to the future historian, who placed at a greater distance from men and measures, now operating, or fresh in the memory of many, can form a more impartial estimate of both.

The imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 22nd day of January. Mr. Pitt regarded the union of Great Britain and Ireland as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre on his administration; and although he had uniformly opposed the emancipation of the catholics in Ireland during the existence of a separate legislature, he had held out promises to them of a complete participation in all political privileges, as soon as the union should have taken place, in order to facilitate this favourite object. When the proposition was submitted to the

cabinet council it was opposed by some of the members, and his majesty took a decided part declaring that his coronation oath prevented him from assenting to a scheme which might endanger the protestant establishment. As the king's declaration obstructed the recommendation of the measure to parliament, and diminished the probability of its success, Pitt resigned his situation in which he was not left at full liberty to pursue his ideas of equity and redeem his promises. The minister was accompanied in his resignation by lord Grenville and other members of the cabinet. In forming a new cabinet the earl of Hardwicke was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The first measures of the new ministry were directed towards the securing of internal tranquility. Ireland being still in a disturbed state, it was considered necessary to renew the act for the suppression of rebellion in that country, as also the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act.

In the course of the session of 1802 an act was passed to relieve the Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the thirty-first of the reign of George III.

A deceitful calm, a sullen repose, ensued in Ireland after the union: the unquiet spirits whose excesses tended to accelerate that measure were overawed, not subdued. The catholics, whose claims had been strongly urged, and strongly encouraged by the unionists, began now to look for the performance of the promises which had been made to them. Assured by their friends that it would be better not to embarrass the general question of the union with their demands, which could be more consistently and more efficaciously urged afterwards, they suffered the measure to be carried, and waited to be heard. Pitt, who had accomplished the union, and had promised redress to the catholics, found that he had pledged himself to a task which he had not power to perform, and retired from office to evade an obligation he was unable to fulfil. In consequence of this disappointment Ireland once more became the theatre of rebellion, in 1803. The instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, whose director and principal mover was Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents and considerable influence, the brother of Thomas Eddis

Emmett, who took so prominent a part in the rebellion of 1798. He had been so unguarded in his behaviour, while the late disturbances existed, as to draw upon himself the vigilance of government, and had found it necessary for his safety to reside abroad so long as the habeas corpus act was suspended; but no sooner was that obstacle removed than he returned to Ireland, where he arrived in December, 1802. By the death of his father, one of the state physicians in Dublin, he found himself possessed of two thousand pounds; and with this sum he proposed to overturn the government, and free Ireland from the dominion of Great Britain. Though the persons immediately connected with him did not exceed one hundred, yet they were so sanguine as to imagine that at their bidding the spirit of rebellion would pervade the whole kingdom: and the usual intimidation, the stoppage of the mails, was to be the signal of revolt in the country, while the grand object of the insurgents in the metropolis was to secure the castle, and the principal persons engaged in the government. For some days previous to the fatal explosion information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people, and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion than an insurrection was in agitation. Lord Hardwicke, then viceroy, it has been thought did not use the power he possessed with such discretion and vigour as would have crushed the growing faction. On Saturday, July 23rd, the populace began to assemble in great numbers in St. James' street and its neighbourhood towards evening, without having any visible arrangements, or under any kind of discipline. To arm the crowd thus gathered together, pikes were deliberately placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of such as might choose to equip themselves. A number of men rode furiously through the streets about nine o'clock, which was the concerted signal that all was in readiness; but the general alarm was not excited, until the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the vicinity of Dublin, who was known to have informed government that afternoon of the intentions of the insurgents, was shot at and dangerously wounded. A cannon was now fired, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment so as to be observed throughout the city. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now

sallied forth, brandishing his sword, from the obscurity of his head quarters, in Marshalsea-lane, and tried, not ineffectually, to incite the undisciplined mob to acts of violence. Before they had reached the end of the lane in which they were assembled, one of the party discharged his gun, with fatal precision, at colonel Browne, who happened to be passing along the street. Emmett, and the principal conspirators, deserted the mob at this moment, and nothing more is heard of them till we find them in the meshes of the law. The most important event of this rash and criminal rising, was the murder of viscount Kilwarden, chief justice of Ireland. This unfortunate nobleman had retired that day to his country seat, about four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in his official duties. On his first receiving intimation of a disturbance, his lordship, who since the rebellion in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being assassinated by the rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for the metropolis. Upon reaching Thomas-street, the carriage was surrounded by a crowd of armed men. His lordship announced his name, and earnestly implored mercy, but in vain. Both he and Mr. Wolfe fell to the ground, pierced with wounds; but the lady was permitted to pass through the rebel column to the castle. The insurgents were attacked in their turn about half-past ten o'clock, by 120 soldiers, and before midnight their mighty projects were entirely defeated.

The privy council lost no time in publishing a proclamation, exhorting the magistrates to unite their exertions with the military, and offering a reward of £1,000. for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers of lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered for such information as would lead to the apprehension of the murderer of colonel Browne. The lord mayor likewise issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep within their own houses after eight o'clock in the evening. Bills for suspending the habeas corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with unexampled rapidity, through their different stages, in the parliament of the united kingdom. Arrangements were made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and

every measure which prudence could suggest, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was immediately adopted. The Roman catholics, on this occasion, with lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and, after expressing their detestation of the enormities committed on the 23rd of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation in extinguishing the rebellion.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the rebels, and Edward Kearney, a calenderer, along with Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man upwards of sixty years of age, were executed in Thomas-street, and several others met the same fate; but the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq. who was arraigned on the 19th of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence. On the 20th, this unfortunate young man, only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, was executed in Thomas-street. Thomas Russell, one of the principals in the conspiracy, also expiated his offences under the hands of the executioner in October. Other two of the principals, Coigley and Stafford, were arraigned on the 29th of October; but as they had made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were taken against them, or any of the remaining prisoners.

On the assembling of parliament, November 23rd, 1803, the secretary of state brought in a bill to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland, which excited considerable discussion, but was carried through both houses without a division. A debate arose on the 9th of December on the motion of the secretary at war to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply. The regular force proposed to be voted for the public service amounted to 167,000 men; the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland to 110,000; and the volunteer corps to upwards of 400,000 rank and file, in the united kingdom. Mr. Windham inveighed with great bitterness against the military system adopted by ministers. Pitt defended this system in a very spirited manner, and maintained that the volunteers would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure.

Lord Castlereagh also made an animated reply to the

objections urged by Windham against the army of reserve and volunteer system. Out of the 35,000 already raised for the army of reserve 7,500 he said had entered for general service. The military force of the united kingdom was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of an invasion. Of the first description there were in Great Britain 130,000 men; and in Ireland 50,000. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 84,000 men; the regular force to 96,000. The next grand feature in our military strength consisted in the volunteer force, of which 340,000 men were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland it amounted to 70,000, to which were to be added 25,000 sea fencibles. The total amount of the military force at this crisis stood, therefore, 615,000 rank and file, and if officers of every description were added, the whole amount would not be less than 700,000 men. Mr. Fox applauded the patriotism of the volunteers, but he could not believe that they were susceptible of the efficiency of a regular force. The chancellor of the exchequer, on the other hand, stated that lord Moira, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and lord Cathcart, the commander in Ireland, were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance that they would conduct them with the greatest confidence against any invading host who might venture upon their shores.

The corn-law came under discussion on the 20th of June. A bill was brought in for the purpose of allowing exportation when the price of wheat was at or below 48s. per quarter, and importation when the average price should exceed 66s. The bill passed through the house of commons without much opposition, but in the lords some petitions were presented against it. Earl Stanhope justly styled it "A bill to starve the poor," and moved its rejection. The measure passed into a law. Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July.

Parliament again met on the 14th of January, 1895. In the budget, the minister stated the joint charge of supplies for Great Britain and Ireland at £44,500,000. Among the ways and means were a loan of £20,000,000.

for England, and £2,500,000. for Ireland; several new war taxes were imposed, Petitions from the Roman catholics of Ireland, praying for relief from civil disabilities, gave rise to very interesting debates; but the minister declared that existing circumstances were unfavourable to their claims, and they were accordingly rejected by large majorities. Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July.

At the commencement of the year 1806, the French by the battle of Austerlitz had acquired an absolute and uncontrolled dominion over the continent; while the victory of Trafalgar had decided the naval pre-eminence of England. Buonaparte, who was no longer deterred by the fear of a continental coalition, directed his attention to the subjugation of his powerful rival. If Great Britain had nothing to apprehend from the number of French troops Buonaparte might land on the shores of England, other parts of the empire were not equally safe. In Ireland, exposed by her grievances to the seduction of the enemy, and accessible by her situation to an invasion, rebellion had been put down by the strong arm of the law, but discontent still existed: the fire which had lately blazed so furiously, was smothered, but it was far from being extinguished; and though the more moderate of the catholics were ready to postpone the discussion of their claims till such time as Providence removed the chief obstacle to the redress of their grievances, and the prudent and considerate were no longer inclined to follow those violent counsels from which they had formerly suffered so severely, yet it was not to be supposed that all the catholics in Ireland were moderate and prudent, or willing to be led by moderate counsels; on the contrary, it was well known that many of that body would join themselves to an invading army whenever it might make its appearance in their country.

This was the posture of affairs when parliament was opened by commission, January 21st. Pitt died on the 23rd, in the forty-seventh year of his age. So far was he from taking advantage of his opportunities of acquiring wealth, that he died insolvent, and parliament voted the sum of £40,000. for the payment of his debts. The king called upon lord Grenville to form an administration, when the duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant of Ire-

land. On the 28th of March the budget was opened, when the unredeemed debt of the united kingdom was stated to be nearly £556,000,000. and the redeemed at £127,000,000. of which the annual charge was about £27,500,000. The supplies on account of Great Britain were estimated at £43,618,472; and among the proposed ways and means the most considerable were a loan of £18,000,000. and an augmentation of the war tax to £19,500,000. The budget for Ireland was opened May 7th, when it appeared that the supply voted for that country was £8,975,194.; and the ways and means, including a loan of £200,000 were estimated at £9,181,455. Some salutary regulations were adopted in various departments. The corn trade between Great Britain and Ireland was placed on the same footing as that between the different counties in England, by an act which judiciously allowed the free interchange of grain without any bounty duty, or restraint whatever.

Fox died on the 13th of September, which caused a dissolution of parliament. The new parliament met on the 16th of December. A new system of finance suggested by lord Henry Petty was favourably received by the nation; and a law was enacted to effect the entire abolition of the slave trade. This bill was hurried through both houses as his majesty was displeased with the introduction of a bill for granting some concessions to Roman catholic officers, and resolved to displace the administration. Though the bill had passed both houses, it was feared that it would not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. On the 25th of March, (1807) at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, the king's message was delivered to the different members of the administration, commanding them to wait upon him to deliver up the seals of their respective offices. A commission for the royal assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained, which was opened by the lord chancellor, and as the clock struck twelve, this important bill became, after a struggle of so many years, a part of the law of the land.

The bill which caused the dissolution of the ministry was styled the Roman catholic's army and navy service bill, and was introduced by lord Howick. Its object was to secure to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of

serving in the army and navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. Without having for its aim what was called the emancipation of the catholics, this bill was adapted to afford them great satisfaction, being conceived in a wise and enlightened spirit of legislation, intended, no doubt, as the precursor of a system of enlarged toleration. The king, however, conceived that acquiescence on his part in the proposed enactment would be a violation of his coronation oath. Under these circumstances ministers immediately withdrew it: but being also required to give a written obligation, pledging themselves never more to propose any thing connected with the catholic question, they resisted the demand, as inconsistent with their honour and duty. Confidence on both sides was impaired, and the resignation of ministers was the almost immediate consequence. A new ministry was quickly formed in which the duke of Portland, was first lord of the treasury; lord Eldon chancellor; Mr. Percival chancellor of the exchequer; lord Liverpool for the home department; Mr. Canning for foreign affairs; and lord Mulgrave first lord of the admiralty. It was attempted to justify the conduct of the late ministry by Mr. Brand, who moved "that it was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge, express or implied, from offering to the crown any advice that the course of circumstances might render necessary." The majority of the new ministers on this motion, in a house of four hundred and eighty-four members, only amounted to thirty-two; and Canning had the assurance to intimate that in the event of administration finding any impediment from the number of their opponents, a dissolution of parliament would be resorted to. Nor was this a vain threat, for it was soon after carried into effect, the session and the parliament being both brought to an end on the 27th of April by a speech from the throne, in which the commissioners were ordered to state that his majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were yet fresh in their memory.

The general election after this dissolution of parliament was very violently contested in many places, the cry of

"The church is in danger!" and "No Popery!" being got up for political purposes; and so strong was the public feeling against the late ministry that Mr. Thomas Grenville was the only commoner in the cabinet who was re-elected for the place he formerly represented. The new parliament assembled on the 22nd of June, when the king's speech, which was delivered by commission, stated that, since the events which led to the late dissolution, his majesty had received the warmest assurances of support in maintaining the just rights of the crown, and the true spirit of the constitution. In the lords the address was carried by a majority of ninety-three, and in the commons by one hundred and forty-five, thus fully establishing the solidity of the administration. A new military plan was introduced by lord Castlereagh, for increasing the regular army from the militia. Two bills were accordingly passed, through the working of which it was estimated that 38,000 men would be added to the military force of the kingdom. Sir Arthur Wellesley introduced a bill for suppressing insurrection in Ireland, and for preventing the disturbance of the peace in that country; and another bill was likewise passed for preventing improper persons from being possessed of arms. The parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August.

In the meantime, the system of commercial annoyance adopted by France against England, which was severely felt throughout the united kingdom, caused as much injury to neutral nations as to the country against which it was principally directed. The retaliatory orders now issued by Great Britain proved still more injurious. America had hitherto been permitted to be the medium of commerce between France and her colonies; but the English government issued an order in council, January 7th, 1807, prohibiting neutral nations from trading with any port in the possession of, or under the control of France; and an additional order, November 11th, declared every port, in whatever country, from which Great Britain was excluded, in a state of blockade. America, in the exigency caused by this novel system of warfare, adopted the expedient of laying an embargo upon all her own vessels, and commanded all foreign ships to quit her harbours. Neither the British orders in council, nor the American embargo

induced Napoleon to revoke his commercial restrictions, as he knew that these were the most effectual means he could devise for injuring the interests of England. He therefore issued a decree, November 23rd, by which he ordered that any vessel entering a French port after having touched at an English harbour, should be confiscated. In December he further decreed that every neutral ship that should submit to be searched by an English ship, or pay duty to the English government, should be seized by French ships of war. Not satisfied with this he extended his prohibitory orders to Portugal, and required that no hostile ship should be admitted into a Portuguese harbour, and that all English subjects residing in that country should be seized and their property confiscated. The foresight of Napoleon did not deceive him; these prohibitions and restrictions caused the greatest distress throughout the British empire.

The imperial parliament met January 31st, 1808. An act was passed for regulating the commercial intercourse with America, until amicable arrangements should be concluded with that country. An act for prohibiting for a limited time the distillation of spirits from grain, was strongly opposed in all its stages, as tending to check that demand which by encouraging agriculturists to grow more than was necessary for the ordinary support of the people, ensured a supply in cases of scarcity. It was defended as a temporary measure, on the ground that the supply of grain from the continent being cut off, and no prospects left of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country. Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of July; and again assembled on the 19th of January, 1809.

On the 27th of the same month, colonel Wardle stated in the house of commons, that the power of disposing of commissions in the army had been exercised to the most flagrant purposes, though it had been placed in the hands of a person of exalted rank and extensive influence, for the purpose of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, &c.; but he could prove that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes. He said that Mary Anne Clarke, who had lived under the protection of the duke of York, had been permitted by his royal highness to traffic in commissions; that she in fact

possessed the power of promotion ; and that the duke participated in the emoluments which were derived from this scandalous, corrupt, and illegal traffic. He concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions, which after an interesting debate was agreed to ; the chancellor of the exchequer observing that publicity was desirable, it was determined that the investigation should be conducted before a committee of the whole house.

During this inquiry which was continued for three weeks, Mrs. Clarke was repeatedly examined at the bar, and by the smartness of her answers gave a degree of relief to the protracted examinations. The duke addressed a letter to the house in which he in the most solemn manner asserted his innocence, and claimed from the justice of the house that he should not be condemned without a trial. A great variety of opinions existed upon the subject, though all were convinced that corrupt practices had existed to a great extent in the different departments of the military administration ; but the majority of the house considered that there was no just ground to charge his royal highness with criminal connivance ; and on the 17th of March, the chancellor brought forward a motion to the following effect :—“ that this house having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the duke of York, as commander-in-chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption and connivance at corruption, have been imputed to his said royal highness, find it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation.” This motion was carried by a majority of 278, against 196. Notwithstanding this acquittal the duke of York thought it necessary to tender his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, which was accepted by the king, who appointed general Dundas to the situation.

This investigation was the means of bringing to light a systematic traffic in East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government. A committee was appointed, when it appeared that a great many cadetships and writerships had been disposed of illegally. One of the directors named Thellusson was deeply implicated in these

transactions, and rejected at the ensuing election in consequence; and the court determined that all those young men named by the committee of the house of commons, as having obtained their appointments by corrupt practices, should be deprived of their employments. This inquiry exhibited transactions intimately connected with the character of the house of commons, and the proceedings of some of its most distinguished members; and on the 25th of April, lord Archibald Hamilton submitted a motion grounded on the conduct of lord Castlereagh, who in the course of the inquiry, admitted that in 1805, he delivered into the hands of lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. This negotiation however was broken off, but was carried on between lord Castlereagh and an advertising place broker of the name of Reding. Lord Castlereagh expressed his sorrow, and said, if he had erred, it was unintentionally, and he would patiently submit to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred. Lord Hamilton moved that lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a dereliction of his duty, as president of the board of control, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the house. After a long debate the motion was rejected by a majority of forty-six.

These exposures led to the introduction of a bill, which ultimately passed into a law, for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the procuring of seats by corrupt practices, and also for the more effectual prevention of bribery. While this bill was under discussion Mr. Madocks charged the chancellor of the exchequer and lord Castlereagh with corrupt and criminal practices to procure the return of members to parliament. He affirmed that Quintin Dick purchased a seat for Cashel in Ireland, through the hon. Henry Wellealey, who acted on the behalf of the treasury; that on the question brought forward by colonel Wardle, lord Castlereagh intimated the necessity of his voting with government or of resigning his seat; and that Dick, rather than vote against his conscience, did vacate it. The charge of Madocks was negatived.

One of the first consequences of these investigations was the enactment of a law declaring the brokerage of offices,

either in the army, the church, or the state, to be a crime highly penal.

The ill success attending many of the ministerial measures produced great dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom, and variance among the members of the cabinet. Lord Castlereagh, in a letter, accused Canning of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from office on the ground of incapacity for fulfilling its duties. The consequence of this charge was a duel in which Castlereagh wounded his antagonist. Previous to the duel both resigned their offices; as did also the duke of Portland, on the plea of age and infirmities.

The 25th of October, 1809, commenced the fiftieth year of the reign of George III. and the day was celebrated throughout the kingdom as a jubilee, with marked demonstrations of loyalty and affection, which were mingled with a deep sympathy for the king, now labouring under the infirmities of age, and an almost total privation of sight: afflictions which rendered his majesty an object equally worthy of commiseration and respect.

Parliament resumed its sittings, January 23rd, 1810. The king's speech having been read by commission, a warm debate ensued relative to the peninsular war; the usual addresses were, however, carried. The questions of catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were again agitated during this session, but the advocates for concession were far outnumbered by their opponents, and both of these important measures were rejected by large majorities. An incident occurred not long after the meeting of parliament which attracted the public attention. The exclusion of strangers from the house of commons during the inquiries into the Walcheren expedition excited much observation, and had been made a subject of discussion in a debating club, the president of which was summoned to the bar, and committed to Newgate; though several members expressed their doubts of the policy of this conduct. Sir Francis Burdett, however, denied the power of the house, and moved for the discharge of the prisoner, on the ground that the house had exceeded its authority, which was negatived by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine. Sir Francis published his speech, with some remarks, in which he denied the power of the house of commons to imprison the

people of England. In consequence of this publication it was moved and carried by a majority, that he should be committed to the tower. The speaker signed the warrant for his committal and delivered it to the serjeant-at-arms. Sir Francis denied the legality of the warrant and refused to submit unless compelled by force. The serjeant, accompanied by a number of police officers and soldiers, forced an entrance into his house and conveyed him to the tower. On the return of the escort, a numerous mob attacked them, and some shots were fired by which two or three lives were lost and a number wounded.

Sir Francis commenced actions against the speaker, for issuing the warrant; against the serjeant-at-arms for executing the warrant; and against earl Moira, the governor of the tower, for illegal imprisonment; the object of the baronet being to ascertain whether an appeal lay to a court of law against proceedings of the house of commons acting as accuser and judge, and affecting the liberty of the subject—if the punishment could be remitted by a court of law, the privilege claimed would be restricted if not destroyed; he failed in all, however, the warrant being issued by the authority of the house of commons being admitted to be a legal warrant, the arrest and imprisonment was consequently legal. At the prorogation of parliament Sir Francis was liberated, and a triumphal procession from the tower to his house in Piccadilly was planned by his friends; but he disappointed their expectations, returning privately by water, in order to avoid any occasion of further tumult.

The report of the commissioners of military inquiry disclosed another flagrant instance of public delinquency, in the case of Joseph Hunt, a member of the house of commons, and late treasurer of the board of ordnance, who had misapplied the public money to a considerable extent; he was expelled the house. Parliament was prorogued June 21st.

George III. experienced a return of the mental malady under which he had suffered in 1789, and of which he had transient attacks in 1801 and 1804. The death of his youngest and favourite daughter, the princess Amelia, caused him such affliction, as to occasion a relapse into that state of mental aberration which clouded the latter

years of his reign and life. Parliament had been three times prorogued in the hope of his recovery, when the continuation of his indisposition suggested to ministers the necessity of vesting the royal power in the prince of Wales; but he was restricted from granting peerages, offices in reversion, or pensions to the chancellor, judges, &c. These restrictions were to terminate on the 1st of February, 1812. The installation of the prince as regent took place on the 6th of February, 1811, and no arrangements for a new ministry had been made. The prince regent was too well pleased with the complaisance of the present ministers, and too sensible of the advantage of the habitually compliant state of the present state of parliament to wish for their removal.

The commercial affairs of the nation during the first year of the regency were in such a depressed state, as to attract the attention of government; and on the 1st of March a committee was appointed to concert measures of relief. On the recommendation of this committee an act was passed whereby the sum of £6,000,000. was to be advanced to commissioners for the assistance of such merchants as should apply for the same, on giving sufficient security for its repayment. It might naturally have been supposed that this money would have been eagerly sought after; but such was not the case, and the sums applied for were to a less amount than the provision made. Yet the commercial distresses continued to increase and displayed themselves by frightful lists of bankrupts, and they were mainly attributable to the effects of the American embargo and to Napoleon's decrees. The necessaries of life were greatly increased in price; while foreign exchanges were executed at a loss of about 20 per cent. A guinea at this period was worth 27s. in bank notes.

The practice of flogging in the army had frequently been a subject of discussion; and when the mutiny bill came before the house of commons on the 14th of March, Mr. Lutton introduced a clause by which discretionary power was given to courts-martial of sentencing to imprisonment instead of corporal punishment. A bill was also passed for effecting an interchange of militias between Great Britain and Ireland.

An opinion had almost universally prevailed among the

Roman catholics in Ireland that the prince of Wales was favourable to their claims; and on his appointment to the regency, their zeal and activity in endeavouring to attain the redress of their many grievances were greatly increased; yet they to their grief found him retaining a ministry avowedly hostile to any concession in their favour. Among other measures in pursuance of their object, they had proposed to establish a committee in Dublin, composed of delegates from each county, for the management of their affairs, which being deemed illegal, Wellesley Poole, secretary to the viceroy, addressed a circular to the magistrates and sheriffs of counties, requiring them to arrest all persons concerned in the election of such delegates; and this letter being brought before the imperial parliament, led to considerable discussion. On the 3rd of March, the Irish secretary having returned to England, stated in explanation, that the catholic committee of 1809 had confined their deliberations to the business of petitioning; whereas the present delegates were empowered to manage the catholic affairs generally; and that a committee of grievances which met weekly, imitated all the forms of the house of commons. He further stated that the lord-lieutenant had taken the opinion of the great law officers of the crown, and the attorney-general had drawn up the circular letter that had been issued. The catholic petitions were this session rejected on account of these illegal proceedings. The Irish catholics, however, were not discouraged by this rejection of their petitions, but held a meeting at Dublin on the 9th of July, for the appointment of delegates to the general committee of catholics, when five persons were apprehended for a breach of the convention act. On the trial of Dr. Sheridan, who was one of the prisoners, the chief-justice and judges varied with the jury as to the verdict to be given. The former conceived that he had, the latter that he had not, violated the convention act. A new committee of delegates met on the 19th of October, and having voted lord Fingal to the chair, despatched their business before the magistrates arrived to disperse them. On the twenty-sixth, the aggregate meeting was held, when it was resolved to present an humble address to the prince regent as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease. The government judging that the acquittal of Dr. Sheridan

was owing to a defect of evidence, instituted proceedings against Mr. Kirwin, another of the arrested delegates, who was declared guilty; upon which the catholic committee ceased to exist as a delegate body. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of July.

1812—The parliament of the united kingdom assembled on the 7th of January: the regent's speech was delivered by commission. The king being still unable to resume the cares of royalty, and the period allotted for the continuance of the restrictions upon the regent's power having expired, the full exercise of the royal prerogative, though not the title of sovereign, devolved upon the prince, and the civil list was transferred to him. A new establishment was set up for the king, to support which £170,000. including £50,000. resigned by the regent, were allotted; £100,000. were granted to the prince, and £9,000 a year to each of the royal princesses, exclusive of the £4,000. allowed from the civil list. After some efforts to form a ministry, in which lords Grey and Grenville might be included, the regent retained Mr. Percival and his colleagues in office.

Distress, and consequent riots, continued to prevail; and so organised a system was adopted by the malcontents, as led to the belief that their views were not confined to the attainment of immediate relief, but partook of a revolutionary character. Government endeavoured by rigorous measures to suppress these disturbances; but the manufacturers, and the country in general, attributed their origin and continuance to the operation of the orders in council. So general a dissatisfaction at last engaged the legislature to institute an inquiry into the state of commerce and manufactures; but the labours of the committee appointed for that purpose were suspended, and the administration deprived of its leader, by the assassination of Mr. Percival, who was shot on the 11th of May, as he was entering the lobby of the house of commons, by a person named John Bellingham. He staggered and in a few minutes expired. The assassin who made no attempt to escape, but after having committed the deed remained fearlessly among the spectators, was examined at the bar of the house of commons, where it was apprehended that this was only the first act of a deep and extensive conspiracy; but it soon appeared that the act was merely in revenge of a supposed

injury. When brought to trial, he alleged in his justification, that having been wrongfully imprisoned in Russia, and reduced from comparatively affluent circumstances to extreme indigence, he had often ineffectually applied for redress to the English ambassador there; and that having on his return to England found the ministry equally inattentive to his complaints he had taken revenge for their neglect in the assassination of their leader. After admitting the act, denying malice towards his victim, declaring he would rather have shot lord Gower, the late ambassador to Russia, and attempting a palliation rather than a defence, he was found guilty, and suffered death on the 18th of May.

In consequence of the vacancy thus occasioned overtures were made by lord Liverpool to the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning; but they declined to associate themselves with government, assigning as their reason the avowed hostility of ministers to the catholic question. A conciliation of parties being found impracticable, lord Liverpool was appointed prime minister.

Catholic affairs and the orders in council continued to occupy parliamentary and general attention. The advocates of the catholic cause resolved to appeal again to the legislature; and Mr. Canning, in a long and able speech, on the 22nd of June, proposed a resolution, that the house early in the next session would take into consideration the laws affecting his majesty's subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment. This motion, which was supported by lord Castlereagh, was carried by a majority of 119. The marquis of Wellesley introduced a similar motion in the house of lords, which was lost by *one*; and the catholics found consolation for present disappointment in the conviction that their cause was at least progressive; and in the hope that its triumph was but deferred.

The result of the inquiry into the state of commerce was a repeal of the orders in council, as far as they regarded American vessels. But this concession came too late to avert war between England and America. Angry feelings had long existed in the latter country against the British, and had been aggravated during the preceding year, by an unfortunate collision between an English sloop of war, and

an American frigate. The governments of the two countries disavowing any hostile orders given to the two commanders, this affair only produced a temporary exasperation: other events now widened the breach; and the Americans issued a declaration of war against Great Britain on the 17th of June, five days before the revocation of the orders in council. Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of July; and dissolved September 29th.

The new parliament assembled on the 29th of November, and on the 30th, the prince regent for the first time, delivered a speech from the throne; and in allusion to the peninsular war, his royal highness expressed his firm reliance on the determination of parliament to continue every aid in support of a contest, which had first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering, and successful resistance to the power of France. On the usual motion for an address in the house of lords, the marquis Wellesley took a review of the Spanish campaign, and argued that the system adopted by ministers was timid without prudence, and narrow without economy, profuse without the fruits of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution. The addresses were voted in both houses without a division.

The levity of conduct imputed to the princess of Wales became a topic of discussion in 1813; the subject being revived by a letter from the princess to her husband, the regent, complaining that she was debarred from the society of her daughter. This letter and the papers relative to a former investigation in 1806, were submitted to the privy council, who were required to decide whether the intercourse between the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte ought to be subject to restrictions. The privy council having decided in the affirmative, the princess appealed to the house of commons, by which assembly she prayed her cause might be investigated. Mr. Wortley made a motion to that effect, which was rejected, and the business rested for the present.

Parliament was again called upon to discuss the policy of conceding equal rights to a large class of his majesty's subjects. On the 30th of April, Mr. Grattan introduced a bill enabling catholics, with some few exceptions, to hold military or civil appointment, and to sit and vote

in either house of parliament, after taking a specified oath, of which the chief provisions were, allegiance to the king, support to the protestant succession and existing church establishment, a renunciation of all belief in the temporal jurisdiction of the pope within the united kingdom, or of any power possessed by him to depose princes at pleasure. In the course of the discussion the bill was newly modelled, so as to give the crown a *veto* in the appointment of catholic bishops, and the inspection of all bulls and dispensations from Rome. On the subject of the *veto* much difference of opinion prevailed for some time among the leading members of the catholic body. Apprehensions were not generally entertained that any inconvenience would result from the interference of the state in ecclesiastical matters, till Dr. Milner, a prelate equally distinguished for his zeal and erudition, raised his voice in opposition, and the Irish hierarchy and people joined in resolutely refusing concession if fettered by such a clause. In order to insure the omission of this obnoxious stipulation, or should that be found impracticable, to prevent the bill from passing into a law, Mr. O'Connor, of Balenagara, with two other Irish gentlemen, was appointed to repair to London. The house was in committee on the subject, when the speaker rose, May 20th, and, after several observations, moved that the words "to sit and vote in either house of parliament," be left out of the bill, which was carried by 251 against 247; upon which Mr. Ponsonby said, that as without that clause it was neither worth the acceptance of the catholics nor the support of their advocates, he should move "that the chairman do now leave the chair." This motion being carried the bill was abandoned; but the propriety of conceding or refusing the right of *veto* to the crown continued for some time longer to form a topic of discussion between the advocates and opponents of the measure.

An act was passed during this session for establishing some proportion between the stipends of curates and the value of the livings which they served; the necessitous condition of many who performed the duty of non-resident clergymen having too long been a disgrace to the established church of England. The session closed with a speech from the throne, on the 22nd of July.

Parliament did not again meet till March 21st, 1814. The price of corn being at this time high, a measure, the object of which was to prohibit importation, excited general alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial districts, and its promoters were accused of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order to enable the country gentlemen to keep up their exorbitant rents. On the 5th of May a resolution was moved in the house of commons, for permitting at all times the exportation of grain from any part of the united kingdom. This was readily carried, and a second resolution was proposed for regulating the importation of grain by a schedule, according to which, when the home price of wheat was 63*s.* per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of 2*s.*; when the home price was 86*s.* it should be duty free; and at all intermediate prices the same ratio should be preserved: and a third resolution for the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. In consequence of the immense number of petitions against any alteration in the corn-laws, the further consideration of these measures was postponed.

The prince regent conferred upon field-marshal, the marquis of Wellington, the dignity of duke and marquis of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the style and title of marquis Douro and duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset. To support the dignity thus conferred upon him, the sum of £400,000. was voted by parliament, in addition to £100,000. granted on a former occasion. On the 28th of June the duke of Wellington took his seat for the first time in the house of peers.

Public sympathy was, during this year, again excited by the case of the princess of Wales. The allied sovereigns proposed to visit London, on which occasion the queen announced her intention of holding two drawing rooms. From these assemblies the prince regent particularly requested that his consort should be excluded, as it was his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the princess upon any occasion, either in public or private. The princess, "to avoid," as she stated, "adding to the difficulty and uneasiness of the queen's situation," contented herself from the drawing rooms. The princess then addressed a letter to the prince, demanding

to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding he had thus thought fit to adopt; and also laid her case before parliament, in a letter to the speaker. The discussions on this subject terminated by the passing of a grant for the increase of her annual income to £50,000.; which sum was, however, by her own desire, reduced to £35,000. The princess Charlotte took a lively interest in the distresses of her mother; she refused to accept the hand of the prince of Orange, alleging her dislike to leave England, where she thought her presence necessary to soothe the affliction of the princess of Wales. The prince regent offended by this determination of his daughter, and ascribing it to the advice of her attendants, dismissed them and appointed others in their stead. While his royal highness and the bishop of Salisbury were employed in exhorting the latter closely to observe her conduct, the princess made her way into the street by a private staircase, entered a hackney coach, and hurriedly drove to Connaught house, the residence of her mother. She was, however, prevailed upon the following day to return, when she was removed to her father's, and not long after to Cranbourn lodge.

A fraud practised upon the stock exchange by lord Cochrane and several associates, excited public attention, for a short time. By the circulation of a report that Napoleon was dead, they caused a considerable advance in the price of stocks, of which they profited to a great amount. They were tried by the court of king's bench, found guilty, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Lord Cochrane, who represented the city of Westminster, was on the 5th of July expelled the house of commons by a majority of ninety-six; but the electors of Westminster were so confident of his innocence, that they re-elected him, not only without opposition, but in triumph.

The state of Ireland had for some time been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity; and Mr. Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, proposed, July 8th, the renewal of a measure which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. The clause of the insurrection, which it was now proposed to revive, provided, that in case any part of the country should be disturbed, two justices should be empowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of the county, which

should consist of seven magistrates; that the lord-lieutenant in council, on receiving a report from the magistrates so assembled, stating that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, should be empowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all resident within the same district to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; and that any persons detected out of their houses at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, should be liable to be transported for seven years. It was also required that the lord-lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which the persons offending against this law should be tried; and if necessary, the trial by jury should in these cases be dispensed with. Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits, and to break open doors if denied admission. The bill was warmly discussed in its several stages, but it ultimately passed both houses; and obtained the royal assent at the close of the session. These rigorous measures were the consequences of outrages committed in some parts of Ireland by persons calling themselves Carders and Caravats, for the purpose, as was generally supposed, of lowering the rents of land. The prince regent prorogued parliament on the 30th of July.

The parliament did not again assemble till the 9th of February, 1815, when the state of the corn-laws occupied the attention of the house of commons. Nine resolutions were moved by a committee, which fixed the average at eighty shillings per quarter for wheat; that is when British wheat should not be below that price, foreign might be admitted duty free. A bill framed on the resolutions was introduced, March 1st, and, after encountering a determined opposition in both houses from the commercial and manufacturing interest, was passed.

A modern writer, in speaking of this period of our history, makes the following interesting observations: "The cessation of the war, had, as previously in 1802, caused great mercantile and manufacturing reverses in that emporium of commerce, (England) which seemed, under the factitious stimulus of the war expenditure, wonderfully to flourish. By the peace several branches of industry connected immediately with war were altogether destroyed

or materially injured. Far less iron and steel were wanted, and these manufactures fell into decay. Transports were no longer needed for the conveyance of troops, and the shipping interest languished. An active competition was experienced in all foreign markets, and the traffickers incurred losses instead of reaping gains. The re-opened trade with the continent was as yet unproductive, from the general impoverishment, and from an awakened spirit of commercial jealousy. Thus an unprecedented distress existed among the great mercantile community of Great Britain, and bankruptcies were multiplied beyond all former experience. And this universal depression of trade and manufactures, by which immense bodies of the industrious were thrown out of employment, and incalculable ruin wrought among individuals, a singular cry of distress was heard from what was called the agricultural interest—namely the landed aristocracy and their tenants, the cultivators of the soil. The price of grain of course fell with that of all other produce after the return of peace; and this aristocracy, having the legislative power in its hands, determined that the price of grain should not be so allowed to recede, but that it should be artificially maintained at the previous enhanced standard. This project for unduly enhancing the price of bread, worthy only of a selfish and cold blooded dominant class, was alleged to have for objects the preventing of land being left untilld, which would be the consequence of importation of foreign grain, and the placing of England in absolute independence for supplies of food. The real object was, and could be no other than the maintenance of rents at the high rates they had attained during the war, for it was preposterous to suppose that land once brought under the plough would ever be suffered to go out of cultivation in a country like Great Britain, with an ever-increasing population: and as to independence of foreign supplies, a horrible catastrophe speedily evinced the futility of such a pretence. Besides, if some land really did fall out of cultivation, that could not operate as an excuse, or even as a pretext, for taxing the food of the great body of the people. However, claptraps go a long way with a community like the British, especially at that time, when they were puffed up with conceited and prejudiced notions, arising from their long isolation, and from

nation. The amendment was negatived without a division.

On the 7th of February, lord Castlereagh intimated to the house of commons that he was desired by the prince regent to announce, that sympathising with the sufferings of a generous people, he had determined upon a cession of fifty thousand pounds per annum of that part of his income which related to his personal expenses, during the continuance of the present difficulties. At the same time his lordship intimated the intention of the cabinet ministers voluntarily to dispense with one tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state should require such concession.

Mr. Grattan again brought forward his motion on the claims of the Irish catholics, which was defeated by a majority of twenty-four only. Lord Donoughmore brought forward a similar motion in the house of lords which was negatived by a majority of fifty-two.

Parliament was dissolved by the prince-regent in person, on the 10th of June, 1818. After intimating his intention of calling a new house he proceeded as follows: "I cannot refrain from adverting to the important change which has occurred in the situation of this country and of all Europe, since I first met you in this place. At that period the dominion of the common enemy had been so widely extended over the continent, that resistance to his power was, by many, deemed to be hopeless, and in the extremities of Europe alone was such resistance effectually maintained. By the unexampled exertions which you enabled me to make, in aid of countries nobly contending for independence, and by the spirit which was kindled in so many nations, the continent was at length delivered from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured; and I had the happiness by the blessing of Divine Providence, to terminate, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, the most eventful and sanguinary contest in which Europe had for centuries been engaged, with unparalleled success and glory. The prosecution of such a contest for so many years, and more particularly the efforts which marked the close of it, have been followed within our own country, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, by considerable internal difficulties and distress. But, deeply as I felt for the immediate pressure upon his

majesty's people, nevertheless I looked forward without dismay, having always the fullest confidence in the solidity of the resources of the British empire, and in the relief which might be expected from a continuance of peace, and from the patience, public spirit, and energy of the nation. These expectations have not been disappointed. The improvement in the internal circumstances of the country is happily manifest, and promises to be steadily progressive; and I feel a perfect assurance that the continued loyalty and exertions of all classes of his majesty's subjects will confirm these growing indications of national prosperity, by promoting obedience to the laws, and attachment to the constitution, from which all our blessings have been derived."

Her majesty queen Charlotte died at Kew palace, in the 75th year of her age, after a lingering illness of six months.

The new parliament having met on the 14th of January, 1819, the duke of York was appointed guardian of the king's person.

Numerous petitions having been presented to parliament, both in favour of and in opposition to the claims of the Roman catholics, Mr. Grattan, on the 3rd of May, again brought before the house of commons this important question. The causes of disqualification, he said, were of three kinds: 1st, the combination of the catholics; 2nd, the danger of a pretender; 3rd, the power of the pope. He insisted that not only all these causes had ceased, but that the consequences annexed to them were no more; and concluded an eloquent appeal in behalf of his suffering countrymen, by moving for a committee of the whole house, to consider the state of the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken or made as qualifications for the enjoyment of offices and exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect Roman catholics; and whether it would be expedient to alter or modify the same. The motion was lost on a division by a majority of *two*. A corresponding motion was submitted to the house of lords, on the 17th, by the earl of Donoughmore, who argued that the position of the catholic question had been greatly changed. All anti-christian principles and uncharitable surmises were disallowed by its opponents; and the great

objection was limited to an agreeable supremacy, which was supposed inherent in a foreign state. If he were allowed to go into the committee, he would, after getting rid of the declaration, next dispose of the oath of supremacy, when there would remain no vestige of such tests, except the oath of abjuration, now of no use whatever, as it aimed at a family now extinct. The bishop of Worcester opposed the motion on the ground of danger to the church and state. The bishop of Norwich on the other hand, said that danger did not exist; and that we should follow the golden rule of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. The earl of Liverpool said that the concession would not allay animosities in Ireland, and that the interests of the great mass of the people would not in the smallest degree be affected by it. The lord-chancellor also opposed the motion, which on a division was rejected by a majority of forty-one. Earl Grey made another effort in the peers in behalf of the catholics, by introducing a bill "for abrogating so much of the acts of the 25th and 30th of Charles II. as prescribes to all officers, civil and military, and to members of both houses of parliament, a declaration against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints." This bill was allowed to proceed to the motion for its second reading, when it was thrown out by a majority of fifty-nine. It was now evident to the catholics that the house of peers was the great obstacle to their attaining a redress of their grievances; but instead of being discouraged they determined upon renewing their endeavours with greater vigour, confident in the ultimate accomplishment of their favourite object.

During this and the preceding year the Radical Reformers attracted much notice by their active exertions. Those belonging to Manchester issued notices of a meeting to be held in St. Peter's field, on the 16th of August, 1819, for petitioning for a reform in parliament. Never was so great a number of persons collected together on any occasion of a similar nature. The numbers collected were estimated at 60,000. A band of special constables took up their position so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting to the stage where the orators of the day were situated. Soon after the business of the meeting had been opened, a body

of yeomanry cavalry entered the ground, and advanced with drawn swords to the stage: their commanding officer called to Mr. Hunt, who was addressing the multitude, and told him that he was his prisoner. Hunt implored the people to be tranquil, and offered to surrender to any civil officer who should produce his warrant; he was taken into custody by a constable, and several other persons were also apprehended. Some of the yeomanry now cried out "Have at their flags!" and they began to strike down the banners which were raised in different parts of the field—when a scene of awful confusion ensued; numbers were trampled under the feet of the horses; men and women were cut down by sabres: several were killed, and between three and four hundred were wounded. The field was cleared of the radical reformers in a very short time, and military patrols were stationed throughout the town to preserve tranquility. Hunt and his colleagues, after a short examination, were conducted to separate cells on a charge of high treason; but government found it expedient to abandon the charge of high treason, and the prisoners were informed that they would be proceeded against for conspiracy only, which might be bailed; but Hunt refused to give bail: some of his friends, however, effected this for him. The trial of Hunt and his colleagues lasted ten days, when the jury declared them guilty. Hunt was sentenced to be imprisoned in the gaol of Ilchester two years and six months, and then to find securities for his good behaviour for five years; and his colleagues to be imprisoned each one year in Lincoln castle, and likewise to find sureties.

Notwithstanding the tragical results of the Manchester meeting, and the rigorous measures of government, the reformers still continued to assemble throughout the country; and many noblemen and gentlemen joined their meetings to demand parliamentary reform.

George III. died on the 29th of January, 1820, in the 82nd year of his age, and the 60th of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, George IV. who now took upon himself the actual sovereignty of the united kingdom, over which he had already presided many years as regent.

On the accession of George IV. the princess of Wales, now queen consort, returned to England. The conduct of

the princess while residing abroad, had been watched by spies employed in her own household, and was now made the subject of serious accusations against her honour, on her return to England, whither she hastened to claim her rights; a trial in the house of peers ensued, by the king's command. Messrs. Brougham and Denman acted as counsel for her majesty, and displayed great eloquence and dexterity. The examination of witnesses occupied several weeks; yet no evidence could soften the indignation with which almost all classes regarded the prosecution. The "bill of pains and penalties," which, when it had passed the third reading, was withdrawn, the majority for it being only nine, and the public voice decidedly adverse to its passing into a law. The queen was triumphant, and addresses poured in from all quarters. But although the bill of pains and penalties was withdrawn, the privileges of her station were denied her; and when his majesty's coronation was performed with great splendour, July 19th, 1821, queen Caroline was not only denied any participation in the ceremony, but was actually repulsed from the door of Westminster Abbey, when she sought to obtain an entrance. A short illness terminated her life on the 7th of August.

During the month of August, 1821, his majesty visited Ireland; being the first sovereign of his race who had visited that kingdom; on his arrival he was hailed with the most lively enthusiasm by that generous people. The liberality of those whom he had favoured with his friendship while prince of Wales, made the Roman catholics believe him to be favourable to their claims; in this they had been grievously disappointed, but nothing occurred on this joyful occasion to damp the general festivity. A committee of the Irish nobility and gentry employed a celebrated artist to paint a national picture, commemorative of his majesty's visit. The size of the picture is twenty-four feet by sixteen. The subject is his majesty's reception of the address of the lord mayor and citizens of Dublin previously to his embarkation on his return to England. The bay of Dublin, the new pier, the decorated vessels of various descriptions, are valuable additions to the main subject. It contains original portraits of his majesty, the duke of Montrose, earls Talbot, O'Neill, Ormond, Carrick, and

Farnham; the marquis of Anglesea, lords Conyngham, Sidmouth, Graves, Howden, Hill, and Maryborough; sir John Doyle, sir Charles Paget, sir Edward Lees, sir Andrew Barnard, general sir Charles Doyle, the lord mayor of Dublin, the right hon. C. Grant, and several other persons of the first distinction. This is undoubtedly a fine specimen of Irish historical painting.

In the months of April and May a dreadful famine desolated some parts of Ireland; and upwards of £1,600,000 was subscribed by the British public for the relief of the starving population. The aid thus benevolently administered saved thousands of lives, and put an end, for the time, to the sufferings of the people, at least with regard to famine. The sums sent to Ireland were so large as to leave several thousand pounds in the hands of the archbishop of Tuam and other individuals who had distinguished themselves in the benevolent work; and in addition to this surplus of the remittances sent to Ireland, the committee in London on winding up their accounts found that they had at their disposal a very large sum. It therefore became a subject of consideration how this balance might be appropriated most advantageously. It was disposed of in the following manner: £5000 was voted for providing necessary articles of clothing for the poor in the distressed parts of Ireland with a view of contributing to their comfort and health during the ensuing autumn and winter; £5000 was voted for the encouragement of the fisheries along the coast of that part of Ireland where the distress was lately so prevalent, and where from the want of employment, its recurrence might be apprehended, if a stimulus were not given to the industry of the poor. A large sum was voted for the encouragement of the linen manufacture in the districts where the distress was lately more general and appalling: the money to be applied in fostering the coarser branches of the trade which must necessarily be first cultivated with a view to its future success. The fact that in those parts of Ireland where the linen manufacture was established, famine was almost unknown, while the habits and morals of the people were progressively advancing, pointed out the utility of thus extending so beneficial a species of industry.

CHAPTER XIII.

The catholic claims. O'Connell elected member for the county of Clare. Catholic emancipation act passed. Prosperity of the nation succeeded by distress. Death of George IV. and accession of William IV. Parliamentary reform. The duke of Wellington's declaration against it. The voice of the nation in its favour. Wellington unable to form an administration. The reform bill passed. Repeal of the union. Church reform demanded in Ireland. The Irish church establishment and tithe system oppressive. Irish workhouses. Physician's report. Disgraceful conduct of guardians. Death of William IV. and accession of queen Victoria. Character of Daniel O'Connell. Famine in Ireland, 1848-49. Great distress. Insurrection. Insurgents transported. Party fight at Dolly Brae. Encumbered estates bill for Ireland. The queen visit's Ireland. Cordial reception. The prince of Wales created earl of Dublin. Proposed abolition of the vice-royalty. Inconsistency of the repealers. Advantages to Ireland from the abolition.

FROM the year 1805, the catholic claims had been a prominent subject of discussion in parliament. Almost despairing of their cause while left to the progress of mere opinion in the English aristocracy, the Catholics in Ireland had under the auspices of Daniel O'Connell, the most distinguished orator of his time, united themselves in an association, in 1824, not in secret, but in open day, for the purpose of forcing their emancipation by an exhibition of their physical strength. An act of parliament was speedily passed for the suppression of the Catholic association; but it immediately re-appeared in a new shape, and extended its influence to places the most remote, embracing not only the catholics, but many protestants who were friends of religious liberty. O'Connell explained to the people that the great grievance which depressed Ireland, and the great source from which other grievances had been derived, was to be found in the government of that country having been hitherto in and administered for the advantage of a small minority of her inhabitants. The avenues to power and emolument had always been closed against the great majority of the people of Ireland. They had been forced

to support the burden of an extravagant and corrupt government, but they had not been permitted to exercise its functions, or even to enjoy its protection. Since the reformation all the influence of government had been engrossed by the protestants. Statute after statute had been passed, for the avowed purpose of preventing the growth of popery, but with the real intention of suppressing that religion. The catholics were in consequence reduced to the lowest of possible state of degradation. Mr. Burke said, "The laws made in this kingdom against papists were as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the popish princes and states; and where those laws were not bloody, they were worse, they were slow, cruel, outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their persons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity." This infamous and detestable code has since been greatly modified; but a great deal that is positively oppressive, and much that is irritating and vexatious, still remained. The British government had either gone too far in the way of concession, or they had not gone far enough. Either they ought to have withheld the greater part of the rights they conceded, or they ought to grant them the few that are still withheld. Bigotry might have found out some miserable pretext for retaining the catholics in a state of perpetual helotism, and depriving them of all political privileges whatever; but having raised catholics from the state of abject depression into which they were sunk, why should they labour to destroy the value of the gift.

The impatience of the catholics of Ireland under the disabilities and degradation to which they were subjected on account of their religion, was evidently becoming so great, that there could be little hope of tranquility till their demands were granted. The association with the indefatigable O'Connell at its head, laboured strenuously to attain its object. In 1825 Sir Francis Burdett presented to the house of commons a petition of one hundred feet in length from the catholics of Ireland, praying for emancipation. Mr. O'Connell continued his labours, and with the voluntary subscription of a penny a month from his adherents, he undertook to overcome the power of Britain; many laughed at the idea, but the event has proved that his calculations

were just. The English people, through the influence of an adverse faith, and their accustomed want of sympathy with the complaints of the Irish, lent little assistance to the agitation with which the ministry and the local government were assailed. The king it was well known was decidedly hostile to the measure; yet the subject rapidly acquired importance among all classes throughout the empire, and it became every day more evident that catholic emancipation could not be much longer delayed. Mr. Canning had not been able when in the ministry, to carry a bill to permit the few catholic peers in England to take their seats in the house of lords; still the question progressed. In 1827, there was a majority of *four* against it in the commons. Most of the talent in the lower house was exerted in its favour; the protestant Irish aristocracy presented a petition, numerously signed, in behalf of their aggrieved countrymen; and in 1828, on the motion of Sir Francis Burdett it passed the house of commons; but in the house of lords it was rejected by a majority of 45. A sort of preparation for the much desired concession was made by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. These Acts had been imposed in the reign of Charles the Second by the whigs for the exclusion of the catholics, and were now abrogated by the same party (the bill having been introduced by lord John Russell) in order that the catholics, whom they had latterly supported, might be admitted, and by it the pale of the constitution was opened to all christian dissenters. A still more determined proof of the increasing power of the friends of emancipation was exhibited. On being called to the presidency of the board of trade, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald vacated his seat for the county of Clare; he had been a friend to emancipation, and possessed great influence in the county; but he had now become a member of an anti-catholic administration. To the exertions of O'Connell Ireland was much indebted; and as an expedient for embarrassing the government, the catholic association used all their influence to procure the return of that distinguished individual. To the surprise of the nation, and the mortification of the ministry, Daniel O'Connell was returned for the county of Clare by a large majority.

From the determined resolution O'Connell had shown in

overcoming all obstacles, it was now surmised that even the laws for the exclusion of catholics from parliament would be unable to prevent him from taking his seat, supported as he was by a majority of the members of the house of commons, and the voice of the people. The duke of Wellington, whose opposition had been extreme, was now compelled to acknowledge that it was necessary to take some steps toward a settlement of this question which was disturbing the country; the first and most difficult was to overcome the scruples of the sovereign, who had declared that during his reign no catholics should be allowed to enter parliament; but the royal scruples had to yield to the pressing urgency of the case. Accordingly, at the commencement of the session of 1829, in consequence of a recommendation from the throne, bills were introduced by ministers for removing the civil disabilities of catholics, which were vehemently opposed by the older and more rigid class of tories; notwithstanding, the Catholic emancipation Bill was carried by a majority of 353 against 180 in the house of commons, and 217 to 212 in the house of lords, and received the royal assent April 13th, 1829. By the operation of this act, catholics, on taking a prescribed oath, were rendered eligible to all civil offices, except those of lord lieutenant of Ireland, and keeper of the great seal. The forty shilling freeholders of Ireland, however, were disfranchised; and the catholic bishops prohibited from bearing the name of their respective sees. A clause annexed to the bill prevented Mr. O'Connell from taking his seat for Clare; but his services were not forgotten, neither were his countrymen ungrateful, and he was re-elected without opposition.

The years 1823-24 were characterised in England by an extraordinary activity in almost all departments of trade and commerce. Mr. Huskisson, an able commercial minister, introduced several important measures, among which were the repeal of all duties on goods passing between Great Britain and Ireland; an alteration in the duties affecting the silk manufacture; the repeal of the combination laws, and of the law against the emigration of artisans; while the executive formed commercial treaties on the reciprocity system, which drew additional customers into the British market. Many joint stock companies were

formed for the purpose of giving the accumulated capital of the country a more extensive range. The depressed state of trade during the two previous years had greatly diminished the importation and production of goods, and was succeeded by an advance in prices in 1823, which created an active demand; and the supply continued till it exceeded the bounds of moderation, and the delusion was kept up through the facilities afforded by extensive issues of paper money. The exchange against England turned, however, which showed something was wrong; and the issues at the bank speedily followed. Merchants began to feel difficulty in answering their obligations, and a run upon the banks was the consequence. Many banks in London as well as in the country were compelled to stop payment, and the number of bankruptcies was unprecedentedly great. The merchants and manufacturers were without credit, the working classes were without employment, and almost every class of the community was plunged into the deepest distress, which caused parliament to use some means for establishing the banking system on a more firm basis: and with this view it passed a bill for the gradual withdrawing of small notes from circulation.

Mr. Canning was promoted to the first place in the administration April 10th, 1827; but he died on the 8th of August following, and was succeeded by lord Goderich, who resigned in January 1828, when the duke of Wellington was appointed premier, with Robert Peel as secretary for the home department. The moderate toryism which had characterized the government under Canning and Wellington had prevented the people from agitating the subject of parliamentary reform, but in 1830 affairs took a different turn. Lord John Russell introduced a motion for reform in the house of commons, which was lost by a majority of 96; Mr. O'Connell brought forward another on the 13th of May, which was negatived by a majority of 306. George the Fourth died on the 26th of June, and was succeeded by the duke of Clarence under the title of William IV. who dissolved the parliament July 14th.

During the elections for the new parliament, it was eagerly wished, and generally expected that the ministry would be prepared to bring forward some moderate measures of reform; at least to the extent of taking the fran-

chise from some ancient boroughs now without population, and conferring it upon some of the principal manufacturing towns which were unrepresented. The new parliament met on the 2nd of November, and the king's speech contained no allusion to parliamentary reform. It was of course surmised that ministers had resolved to place themselves in opposition to the popular feeling. This was soon put beyond a doubt by Wellington, who in replying to some remarks of earl Grey, declared "he had never read or heard of any measure of parliamentary reform which could satisfy his mind that the state of representation could be improved, or rendered more satisfactory to the country at large." And in concluding his speech he said "I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare, that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold my station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." By this declaration the duke lost the support of many of his parliamentary friends; and on the 15th of November the ministers were defeated on a financial question by a majority of twenty-nine, which compelled them to resign.

Earl Grey, who had long advocated measures of reform, became prime minister; and his ministry came into power on the understanding that they were to support parliamentary reform and retrenchment of expenditure.

The ministerial scheme was brought before parliament on the 1st of March, 1831, in three distinct bills, applicable to England, Scotland, and Ireland, and was found to be of so bold a character as to surprise even the liberals, to whom it gave the utmost satisfaction, while the opponents of the measure were terrified by the dangers of a revolution, and the extinction of their influence as a party. The second reading of the English bill was carried by a majority of *one* only; but as a resolution inconsistent with its provisions had been agreed to in committee, ministers determined to appeal to the people, and accordingly dissolved the parliament. Nor were they disappointed; for when the English bill was read a second time in the new house of commons they had a majority of 136. The measure now proceeded slowly through the remaining stages till it reached the house of lords; where it was thrown out.

by a majority of 41. The consequence of this rejection was great riots among the people, especially in the manufacturing districts; and numerous petitions were presented in favour of the measure. The ministers brought forward new bills, exactly similar to the first, and which also passed the house of commons by large majorities. On the English bill being presented in the house of lords, lord Wharncliffe and a few others who had formerly opposed it, being assured that his majesty had resolved to insure it a second reading by creating a sufficient number of whig peers if necessary, were induced to vote for the second reading, though determined to oppose it in its future stages. The second reading was accordingly carried by a majority of nine. The chiefs of the tory party resolved to supplant the ministry by introducing a bill of a more moderate character, and defeated them upon a clause in committee by a majority of 35. On being refused a creation of peers which they now deemed unavoidable, they gave in their resignations. The duke of Wellington was called upon to form a tory administration; but such was the universal demonstration of popular feeling against the opponents of reform, that he was compelled to desist from the attempt. The king therefore found it necessary to recall the former administration, who accepted office upon the express condition of being allowed to carry their measure. All hope of successful opposition being thus extinguished, the greater part of the factious lords deserted the house and allowed the three bills to be passed. The English bill received the royal assent June 27th, 1832. The Scotch bill passed into a law shortly after; but it was not till the 7th of August that the royal assent was given to the Irish reform bill. In Ireland the votes were now, instead of being restricted in counties to freeholders, and in boroughs to freedoms and other privileges, to be extended to leaseholders in the former case, and householders in the latter; the borough qualification being a ten pound rent. The effect of these measures was to deprive the aristocracy of a great part of their influence in the house of commons, and to extend legislative rights to the middle classes of the community.

The people of Ireland had now obtained catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform; but there were many

grievances which still required redress, among which the most prominent was the church establishment; and after reading the following observations of a periodical writer of that period, we will not be surprised that church reform was demanded.

“Next to the catholic code, the present overgrown church establishment, and the manner in which it is supported, forms the greatest obstacle to the prosperity and happiness of Ireland. The circumstance of the protestant religion being the established religion of Ireland, can never be urged as a valid reason why the people should be made to support a vastly greater number of religious functionaries than the service of the church requires—or that the tithe system should be deemed sacred. Such a monstrous doctrine would be subversive of every principle of improvement; and is suited only for the darkest periods of ignorance and superstition.

“The first thing that strikes us in the Irish church establishment, is the vast number of its dignitaries, compared with the number of the people committed to their charge. In England there are twenty-six archbishops and bishops, and in Ireland twenty-two. The population of England is about twelve millions, three-fourths of whom, or nine millions, are members of the established church. But the entire population of Ireland scarcely amounts to seven millions, five-sixths of whom, or about six millions, are catholics! The remaining million must therefore include not only the members of the established church, but the whole body of dissenters; and considering the number of presbyterians in Ulster, we think there are good reasons for doubting whether the members of the established church exceed one twentieth part of the population; certainly, however, they cannot exceed 500,000, or one-fourteenth part of the whole population. But, besides the twenty-two archbishops and bishops there are upwards of one thousand three hundred beneficed clergymen for the instruction of this small fraction of the population! So numerous an establishment is in the highest degree redundant and unnecessary. Those who are best acquainted with the state of Ireland are of opinion that one archbishop, and a bishop for each of the provinces, could very easily discharge all the episcopal duties; and common sense

tells us, that there need be no rector where there are no parishioners, and that the salary given to the officiating rector should have some reference to the number of their parishioners, and the laboriousness of their duties.

"The number of the clergy is, however, of comparatively little importance. It is with the amount of their stipends—with the sum which is taken from the pockets of the people to be put in theirs—that we are chiefly interested. In this point of view, the church establishment of Ireland is in fact a perfect pattern of profusion and extravagance. The poorest country in Europe is made to support fully five times as many established clergymen as it has occasion for—and is besides made to pay them not five but ten times as large a sum as would suffice to procure the services of an equally learned and pious body of men. In England there are several bishoprics not worth more than from £2,000. to £3,000. a year; and the bishopric of Llandaff is, we believe, worth only from £800. to £1,000. a year: but the poorest bishopric in Ireland is worth fully £4,000. Mr. Wakefield estimated the revenue of all the Irish archbishops and bishops at £146,000. a year; but a later, and a more correct estimate makes it £185,700.

"A landlord is entitled to spend his income where he pleases, and how he pleases. But we think the people of Ireland have a good right to expect that those who receive such enormous sums for their spiritual services should reside on their dioceses, and contribute all in their power to promote the interests of the country of whose wealth they share so largely. This, however, is not the case. It is in the brilliant and dissipated circles of London or Bath, and not in the episcopal palaces, that we must look for the bishops of Ireland.

"In the earlier ages of the church, and, we believe, in Ireland up to the era of the reformation, the ecclesiastical revenue, whether derived from lands, tithes, or other sources, was divided into four shares, of which one went to the bishops, one to the clergy, one to the poor, and one to the building and repairing of churches. But now the priests swallow all. The Irish clergy are not obliged to advance a single shilling from the enormous funds of which they are possessed, either for charitable purposes or for the building or repairing of churches. About £10,000. have

been voted this year for building churches and glebe houses, and for purchasing glebes in Ireland; and the aggregate sum voted for the same purpose during the last twenty years, exceeds a million!

“A considerable part of the incomes of the beneficed clergymen derived from tithes levied on the corn, cattle, pigs, poultry, and potatoes of the cottiers. The vote of the Irish commons in 1735, declaring any man a traitor to his country who should assist in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, or of pasture lands, threw the clergy, from the opulent grazier and the protestant proprietor, upon the catholic peasantry—for the peasants are almost universally catholics—for support. It drove them from those who were able, and who ought to have been willing to pay their *own* pastors, to those who were miserably poor, and who had a different clergy to provide for. The resolution of 1735 declared, in effect, that the established clergy should get nothing from the parks and demesnes of the protestant nobility and gentry, the proprietors of the whole country, but that they might enter the garden of the poor catholic cottier, and pluck from the lips of his starving family a tenth part of their scanty subsistence. And is it really surprising that the peasantry should have revolted at such an atrocious system?—that they should have endeavoured to wreak their vengeance on their ruthless oppressors?—and that from the era of the White-boys, down to the present hour, the tithe system should have been the inexhaustible source of contention, bloodshed, and murder? The Irish clergy generally employ an agent or proctor; who, immediately before harvest, estimates the barrels of corn, tons of hay, or hundred weight of potatoes he supposes to be on the ground, and charging them at the market price, fixes the sum to be paid as a compensation to his spiritual superior. The parson sometimes leases the tithes to a proctor; and he again, not unfrequently, lets them to another; so that the land really becomes, as Mr. Grattan emphatically stated, ‘a prey to a subordination of vultures.’

“Those who are favourable to the tithe system of Ireland,” says Mr. Wakefield, “assert that a farmer can claim the protection of the law against any illegal exaction or oppression of the proctor. This argument may appear plausible to those who are not acquainted with the situation

of the cultivators of land in that country. It may be true as far as the theory of the law is concerned; but theory and practice are very different. I have seen the practice, and I know that redress from the law is out of the reach of the Irish cultivator. His poverty precludes him from preferring his complaint in a court of justice. In Ireland there is law in abundance, and it is dealt out with no sparing hand to those who can purchase it, but to the poor man justice is inaccessible; it is, however, at the command of his opponent, who never hesitates to see him in the spiritual court, while the clergyman, shielding himself under the act of his proctor, stands by, a cool and unconcerned spectator, taking no part in the transaction. The consequence is what I have already stated—discontent, riot, and bloodshed. The poor, miserable, and ignorant cottier, when thus oppressed, has recourse to resistance as his only alternative; he despairs of legal redress, and submission would expose him to ruin. In this pressing and deplorable situation he gives way to the ferocious impulses of passion; he ranges himself under the banners of his associates in misfortune; and the whole depending on their united strength, proceed to acts of violence and outrage, which they consider as a just retaliation.

“Mr. Wakefield’s authority does not require corroboration; but if it did, we could produce a host of witnesses to substantiate what he has here advanced. We shall, however, give one additional testimony, that of Mr. Croker, who distinctly states that ‘in Ireland, the law is not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The courts are open to the indigent only as spectators. The peasant oppressed or defrauded to the amount of £10. cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the laws for less than £60. By victory or defeat he is equally and irretrievably ruined.’

“Such are the courts before which the poor Irish peasantry are dragged by thousands! On the 18th of March last the house of commons ordered that a return should be made of the number of tithe cases tried before the quarter sessions of the different counties, and the ecclesiastical courts of the different dioceses of Ireland during the last five years. The returns since obtained have been printed, but they are not by any means complete. The returns

from the quarter sessions of Clare, Cork, Limerick, and some other important counties, and from the ecclesiastical courts of Dublin, Derry, &c. have not been received; and it has in most instances been found impossible to separate the tithe from the other cases tried at the quarter sessions. Enough, however, has transpired to show the enormous and almost inconceivable extent of litigation, or, to speak more correctly, of legal oppression, to which this system has given occasion. It appears from the return, that no fewer than three thousand and thirty-seven tithe cases have been tried during the last five years before the quarter sessions of the single county of Tipperary; in one year alone there were one thousand and eighty-four tithe cases. The number of such cases tried before the quarter sessions of the small county of Monaghan, is not exactly ascertained; but it appears from the return, that in the course of the last five years two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight suits, being at the rate of five hundred suits a year, have been entered by *clergymen and tithe farmers*. The expense in which these actions involve the peasantry, is ruinous in the extreme; and it will be remembered, that these cases are all exclusive of the actions before the ecclesiastical courts.

"Such are the principal features of the Irish tithe system—a system which has paralysed Ireland to the heart, and which has powerfully contributed to fill a country that ought to have been rich, flourishing, and happy, with misery and crime. No severity of punishment will ever be sufficient to induce men quietly to submit to such unparalleled extortion. We may send hundreds of thousands of troops into Ireland—we may erect a gibbet in every village, and fence every cottage with bayonets; but until this monstrous and complicated system of abuse and oppression be put down, the flames of civil war, and the inhuman attacks of the midnight murderer, will never cease to spread terror and desolation throughout the country.

"But if it be deemed inexpedient to reduce the number of the clergy, and to abolish tithes altogether, they must at all events be commuted. We say *must*; for it is plain that the present odious system cannot be allowed to continue to propagate discontent and bloodshed. Various plans of commutation have been suggested; but the impo-

sition of a per centage on rents appears to be decidedly the best. It proceeds on plain and obvious principles, and would always secure an ample provision for the clergy."

Mr. O'Connell had long perceived the iniquity of the ecclesiastical system in Ireland, the people were oppressed for the purpose of paying exorbitant stipends to protestant clergymen, in some of whose parishes there was not a single protestant inhabitant. He raised his voice and enlisted the feelings of his catholic countrymen in the cause; and was so far successful as to obtain the Irish church reform bill, by which ten out of the twenty-two bishoprics were curtailed; still leaving ample room for other reforms in the established church of Ireland. A tithe commutation bill for Ireland was also passed. The Irish poor law bill was amended, by which the able-bodied poor were deprived of the right to compel parishes to support them, either by employment at a certain rate, or pecuniary aid to the same amount: they were now left no resource failing employment, but that of entering the workhouse, where they were separated from their families. This measure has met with unqualified disapprobation, at which no person will be surprised, when they read the following extract from the report of the physician to the Castlebar workhouse:—"April 11th, Thursday night, nine o'clock probationary ward, No. 2, bath room.—Both doors and hinged portion of window closed. Ward measures 22 feet by 14 feet; but a bath and boiler without lid diffusing its steam through the room, together with the respiration of its over-crowded inmates, (136 persons!) and the exhalations from their compressed and ragged bodies, rendering the air of the apartment offensive, sickening, and oppressive. Children screaming for drink; women stated that they had to give some of the warm water out of the boiler to allay their thirst; six of them were infants on the breast. No beds, no straw, nor bed clothes; no water for drinking in the ward—no water in the pipes. April 12th, Friday night, eight o'clock.—Number of inmates, 122, divided between male and female bath rooms; a scanty supply of straw for some of them, but no bed covering. April 13th, Saturday night, half-past eight o'clock.—Number of inmates in male and female bath rooms, 122 persons; no beds, nor even straw for the night; no bed clothes, all wearing their own

tattered rags—some of them stretched on the earthen floor of the ward, and many of them in the sitting posture, holding their children in their arms and laps, and begging for as much straw as they might rest their children on; there were 40 in the female bath room and 82 in the male bath room; without a seat on which to sit or rest during the day, or a bed of straw on which to lie during the night. Within six feet of the window of this ward is the privy, without a drop lid, night soil flowing over level of the drop, and the floor of the privy covered with the same. To the noxious and offensive exhalation issuing from this surcharged cesspool of human ordure; fifty two broken panes in the window afford so many unobstructed passes, and which, diffusing itself through the ward, renders the air—vitiated by its over crowded, filthy, ragged inmates—foul, fetid, and pestilential. April 14th, Sunday night, half past nine o'clock. Number of inmates in both bath rooms, 116 persons; night very cold and wet—no beds, bed covering, or straw for the night—stench from ward and privy intolerable." The *Mayo Telegraph* says, that a motion for the insertion of this report on the minutes was rejected. Sir R. L. Blosse, the vice-chairman, to whom the report was addressed, having proposed an amendment, "that it be not put on the minutes," which was seconded by Sir W. O'Malley, and carried. After thus rejecting the report, the guardians reduced the salary of Dr. Romayne from £100. to £70. a year. If Castlebar workhouse is a specimen of Irish workhouses in general, the sooner the country gets quit of such diabolical nuisances the better.

William IV. died June 20th, 1837, in the seventy second year of his age, and was succeeded by our present gracious sovereign, princess Victoria Alexandrina, who having attained her majority the preceding month, immediately assumed the reins of government. She was crowned with great solemnity June 28th, 1838.

The cry for the Repeal of the Union was raised, and Mr. O'Connell was its great advocate—his most ardent wish being to see his native parliament established once more in Dublin. To effect this he struggled with his utmost vigour; but he was unsuccessful. Dr. Miley in speaking of O'Connell at this time, says "At a period when men

considered his achievements and glory were at an end—when the people turned with cold indifference from his invitations to join with him in a new struggle—you all know the confidence with which he proceeded on his course, and the triumphant success which crowned his efforts. You all know under what auspices he came forward in '43. All men laughed in scorn when he commenced his undertaking; but ere the year closed all the nations of the world stood mute, suspending as it were their most darling enterprises in order to gaze in silent admiration upon such a spectacle as the history of the human race never before presented. That man, by his single voice, levied multitudes in peaceful insurrection and established an *imperium in imperio*, the most perfect that it ever entered into the mind of a Plato or an Aristotle to conceive, issuing orders that were obeyed as if they were behests from heaven; gathering multitudes around him on the plains, and hill-sides, and in the cities; curbing them as he would a well trained steed; checking them as it were in their headlong career, and making them carry into effect every thing he desired without violating the laws of God and man. In this great phase of his existence he effected those things; and though they are laughed at and ridiculed now, they will be remembered with astonishment to the remotest posterity. In that year he laid the inevitable foundation of this nation's independence—traced out the constitution by which it is to flourish and be protected from alien interference, but still linked by the golden attachment of the crown to the great realm beside it, with which, in commercial interests and in the memory of conquests achieved in its darling blood, it must ever be con-sorted. In that year his heart throbbed in anticipation of the destinies of his beloved Erin—of those glories, that retribution of prosperity which seemed oftentimes to delight him when standing on the hill-side drinking in patriotism at every glance, and pouring it out to listening and enraptured multitudes in matchless eloquence. In that year he achieved the wonder which enabled him to look forward with delight in a sort of prophetic inspiration to the realization of all those brilliant hopes." Mr. John O'Connell still continues to struggle to obtain repeal, and is trying his hand at the worn-out game of agitation. In the days

of his father it required a high order of talent, and all the resources of a popular leader, to keep the people to their posts. But things are changed. The chief actor is gathered to his fathers. Every reader, however far removed from Conciliation-hall, is painfully impressed with the fact that talent is not hereditary. But it would appear that agitation is not dead. In the month of September last, a number of persons indiscriminately composed of members of the Old and Young Ireland parties, met for the purpose of settling preliminaries of a new treaty, for the purpose of reconciling conflicting interests, and laying the basis of a new association, in which all might work harmoniously for the common weal, and against the common enemy. The main features of the policy of the new society lean to the principles of the "Young" school; and although John O'Connellism and Conciliation-hall tricks are to be eschewed, an alliance with the priesthood is to be courted by all means. The great bulk, who had been repealers, declared for the National Conference, instead of Conciliation-hall; and the secretaries published a long list of adhesions, including a large number of the catholic clergy, aldermen, town councillors, and other classes who used to take part in the repeal association when under the leadership of the late Daniel O'Connell.

A dreadful famine again desolated Ireland in 1848-49, occasioned principally by the almost total destruction of the potato crop, which is the principal article of food among the Irish peasantry. Many thousands died of starvation; and although the benevolence of the humane was not wanting to mitigate the wide-spread misery, still many cases of heart-rending destitution were recorded by persons whose statements are above suspicion. Here is an account from Skibbereen, which tells its own tale. June 24th.—At the instance of Henry Newman, Esq. the recipients of out-door relief in the parish of Caberagh, in this union, were, on Wednesday last, called together at Killeenleagh, for the purpose of ascertaining whether these persons were fit objects of relief. Many of the famished creatures had to walk over seven miles to the place. Whilst their names were called over, a scene of the most distressing nature occurred. A miserable looking man named Matthew Sullivan, was found dying of hunger; the

Rev. Mr. Nehen was got to prepare him, and had scarce finished his sacred office, when an aged woman, Mary Stukas, appeared in the death agonies; but it did not stop here. Another and another followed in such quick succession that the priest requested of any having sufficient strength left to repair to their hovels, and that he would go through the whole parish, and administer the last sacrament, as, in his opinion, *the entire population was in a dying state.*" The Rev. James Anderson, protestant rector of Ballinrobe, in a letter to lord John Russell, says, "They are dropping into their graves in multitudes" A correspondent of the *Evening Packet* writes, "I have been for the last ten days through the counties of Limerick, Galway, Clare, and across thence to the king's county. All attempts to depict the existing state of the misery of the masses beyond the Shannon must come utterly short of the truth. All that tract of country from Killaloe to Portumna, on the Galway side of the Shannon, is lying waste and uncultivated. About three out of four of the miserable huts are unroofed. Some of the former inmates are dead—some in the union; and some few huddled together in one or two of the huts still existing. The men generally have perished. With large tracts of land lying uncultivated, a few miserable men are employed on the roads—at what wages, think you? One pound of yellow meal—i. e. less than one penny per diem!!! Great God how is this to cure famine? If this process of depopulation goes on a few months more, you may seek an able bodied man in vain for twenty or thirty miles of country." We might fill a volume with similar cases, but these are sufficient to show that the misery was extreme, as every reader may recollect.

Many discontented agitators endeavoured to take advantage of these calamities to incite the people to insurrection; the government very naturally became alarmed at the threatening appearances, and the many seditious writings which were circulated throughout the country. Troops were poured into Ireland to preserve the peace or subdue any tumult. A partial rising did take place, but the want of unanimity among the leaders, as well as of all arrangements, the insurrection was easily quelled. A few of the

more prominent of the instigators were transported, and peace was restored.

Unfortunate Ireland no sooner escapes from one misery than she plunges into another. Rebellion and famine had alternated for two years; and when there was a promise of security against the potato rot, and the insurgents on their way to the place of their exile, faction, the bane of Ireland, stains the land with blood. The 12th of July has frequently commenced in a fete, and terminated in a battle; for while the few refuse to conciliate, the many resolve not to forgive; such was the case on the 12th of July, 1849. It would appear that by mutual consent, certain "passes" are sacred to party movements. There are some defiles through which a Ribbon-man dare not venture, while others are inaccessible to Orange-men. Dolly Brae is one of these. As in feudal times the "protestant boys" sent word that they would visit Dolly Brae on this occasion; and the "catholic boys" replied that they dare not. When the Orange-men moved through in the morning, they were taunted by a number of Ribbon-men there assembled; but they passed on, no collision taking place. A force of military and constabulary was present. On their return they found a body of Ribbon-men drawn up in a crescent form, armed with muskets, pikes, &c. Two shots were fired upon them, whereupon they instantly returned the fire, pushed on against their assailants, and drove them before them; but they did not do this with impunity, as four of their party were wounded. They then turned to wreak their vengeance on some catholic houses. Out of one of these a shot was fired; that house and the house of a priest were wrecked. Other houses, eight or nine in number, were set on fire. The number of victims in this fatal affray was four, a lad, a woman, and two men. Lord Roden, whose grounds had been allowed as the rendezvous of the Orange-men, was dismissed from the magistracy.

A most important act was passed in the imperial parliament of 1849, the Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill, which it is hoped will commence those alterations on the social condition of Ireland which are so much required. A great deal more is wanted; but there is encouragement in a first attempt. By the operation of this act, when the encumbrances affect the half of the income of the estate,

the judgment of the commissioners to be decisive and the estate to be sold. The commissioners are a court of record, who are to hear counsel when required, for and against every application made for their interference. Baron Richards, professor Longfield, and C. J. Hargreaves, Esq. were appointed commissioners under the act, and duly installed. The rules and regulations for the government of the proceedings of the commissioners were submitted to the privy council of Ireland, and approved of. This sanction was necessary to enable the commissioners to commence their duties; and it was no sooner obtained than the agents of creditors of some estates took the necessary steps to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the act for the sale of those encumbered properties. The most extensive estates already brought under the control of the encumbered estates commissioners are those of several noble earls. The judgment debts upon one of these amounted to £500,000. A circumstance was brought before the encumbered estates court in the month of April, 1850, which involves great hardship. A tenant upon a property advertised to be sold, applied to know what compensation he should get for his growing crops. The commissioners were unable to give him any satisfaction, further than that contained in the assurance that every thing upon the land would become the property of the purchaser. The incumbrances on petition now (May, 1851) before the encumbered estates court amount to about £16,000,000. to be paid off by sales in three years.

Queen Victoria visited Ireland in the month of August, accompanied by prince Albert, the prince of Wales, and the princess royal. The home secretary had previously communicated to the corporation of Dublin, that, in consequence of the distress prevailing in Ireland, her majesty would not visit Dublin in state. Notwithstanding, every preparation was made for giving the royal party a hearty Irish welcome,—such as no sovereign had ever received from a generous people; and the lord mayor issued his proclamation for a general illumination on the arrival of the queen. The queen visited Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. The royal party were highly gratified with their cordial reception—so much so indeed, that her majesty had signified her intention of visiting it again shortly.

As a testimony of her satisfaction, the queen commanded the home secretary to address the following letter to lord Clarendon, the lord-lieutenant:—"My lord, It is with sincere pleasure that I perform the duty which devolves upon me, in obedience to her majesty's command, of expressing to your excellency, at the close of her majesty's visit to Ireland, the heartfelt satisfaction which she has derived from her reception in that portion of the united kingdom, and from the gratifying evidence which universally presented itself from the time of her majesty's arrival at Cork to that of her departure from Belfast, of warm and devoted loyalty of attachment to her throne and person, and of affection for every branch of her family. The circumstances which have attended this visit cannot fail to strengthen the deep interest which, your excellency is aware, has long been felt by her majesty in all that concerns the happiness and welfare of her Irish people. Her majesty rejoiced to observe among the multitudes who enthusiastically greeted her appearance, the absence of all distinction of class and party; and she indulges the hope that the feelings elicited on this occasion, may tend to promote among all her faithful subjects in Ireland that union of heart and affection which is essential to the prosperity of their common country. I am further commanded to assure you of the satisfaction with which her majesty remarked the general regard and esteem entertained for your excellency, which have been so justly earned by your able, judicious, and impartial discharge of the high trust confided to you.—I am, with great truth and regard, my lord, your excellency's obedient servant, (signed) G. Grey."

The queen has been pleased to create the prince of Wales earl of Dublin, as a further testimony of the heartfelt satisfaction which her majesty derived from the loyal feelings and kindness with which she was received by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and in order to establish a connexion between his royal highness and her majesty's Irish subjects.

In conclusion, we may remark, that it is the intention of the British government to withdraw the viceregal court from Ireland; an intention which, if carried into effect, we have no doubt will be productive of many advantages.

The people have been so long accustomed to this government, continually in the possession and under the control of the ultra-protestant party, and it has in general so bad a character amongst them that they will never place any confidence in any act of parliament, or any measure of the English cabinet so long as it exists; as from experience they have found that every thing liberal or conciliatory, which the cabinet of St. James' or the imperial parliament have done towards the Irish people has been either stopped in its progress, or sent forth under some illiberal qualification. Having never derived any protection from it, they will never look for protection to any quarter but the sovereign and the cabinet in London.

The communication between London and Dublin is now, by means of steam navigation rendered so perfectly safe, expeditious, and regular, that there is no reason why a secretary of state, resident in London, should not transact the business of Ireland as easily and effectually as he transacts the business of Scotland. A lord-lieutenant might be appointed to each province in Ireland, who would at all times convey to the seat of parliament intelligence of any symptoms of disturbance, at the same time that he would serve to control the violence, or rouse the activity of the magistrates; and prevent them from being either in a state of feverish excitement, or of indolence and apathy. By this means, the laws intended to conciliate the people would have their legitimate influence upon them; and the laws for their coercion would be administered with the force and effect of measures coming directly from the seat of government. By this means also a most salutary reformation would be effected in the disposal of the patronage of the crown in Ireland. The bench of bishops, the bench of judges, the revenue department, and all the public offices, would, we are convinced, soon wear a different appearance were the rules, such as they are by which the patronage of the crown is bestowed in England, applied to Ireland.

Generally speaking the people of Ireland seem to be quite indifferent to the proposed abolition of the vice-regal office; even the citizens of Dublin do not appear to be much affected by the prospective loss of their miniature court. But there is a few discontented individuals who are

determined not to be pleased with any measure whatever. The repealers have over and over again complained that there has been a succession of lord-lieutenants for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, and yet the condition of the country has been gradually deteriorating; from which we would be inclined to think they wished the office to be abolished. But this would appear not now to be the case, the repealers have not only spoken out loudly against the proposition, but Mr. John O'Connell and his few associates have resolved to petition parliament against a measure which they declare will be most destructive to the interests of Ireland, as tending still more to reduce her to the level of an insignificant and paltry province, and which would be fraught with incalculable injury to Dublin, which is already much impoverished, in common with every other part of Ireland, by the want of a protecting and fostering government, and by the non-residence of her aristocracy and gentry.

The presence of a viceroy in Dublin will never elevate the millions of her pauperised inhabitants into physical comfort and independence; neither will the abolition of a representative of majesty render Ireland an insignificant and paltry province, any more than it has Scotland. On the contrary it will teach the people something of that self reliance and effort which are wanting to raise them out of the slough of misery in which they are now sunk. The landowners must be taught that they have duties as well as rights which will be a boon worth a hundred viceroys; and if the inhabitants of Ireland will now discard all such prophets as John O'Connell, and turn their attention to the acquisition of a good law of tenant-right, to the improvement of the franchise, to the better cultivation of the soil, and to the extension of trade, they will derive therefrom advantages which will soon repay a thousand fold the loss of a useless dignity.

The repealers assert that Dublin will suffer from the withdrawal of the court! that may be true; but is the whole nation to be burdened with the support of a very costly pageantry for the exclusive benefit of Dublin tradesmen? The great towns of England and Scotland have no such adventitious means for the acquisition of wealth, and yet they, by the industry of their inhabitants, rapidly

increase in population and riches ; whilst we are told by the repealers themselves, that Dublin, notwithstanding the presence of the mimic court and its retinue, has become impoverished. This shows us that the prosperity of cities and nations is not to be found in servile reliance upon a few wealthy persons.

The abolition of the vice-regal dignity is not only a just concession to the demands and altered circumstances of the times but that it is a necessary preliminary to the closer union of the kingdoms under one crown. We are inclined to believe that the proposed alteration originated in the recent visit of the queen, who has shown her anxiety to bring about a closer union of the two countries. There is an almost universal belief that it is the queen's wish to foster a spirit of loyalty among her Irish subjects ; and a royal visit to Ireland every year, or even once in two years, would confer more benefit upon the tradesmen of Dublin, than even the permanent residence of a court and aristocracy, and it would have the further recommendation of being much more diffusive in its advantages.

THE END.

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